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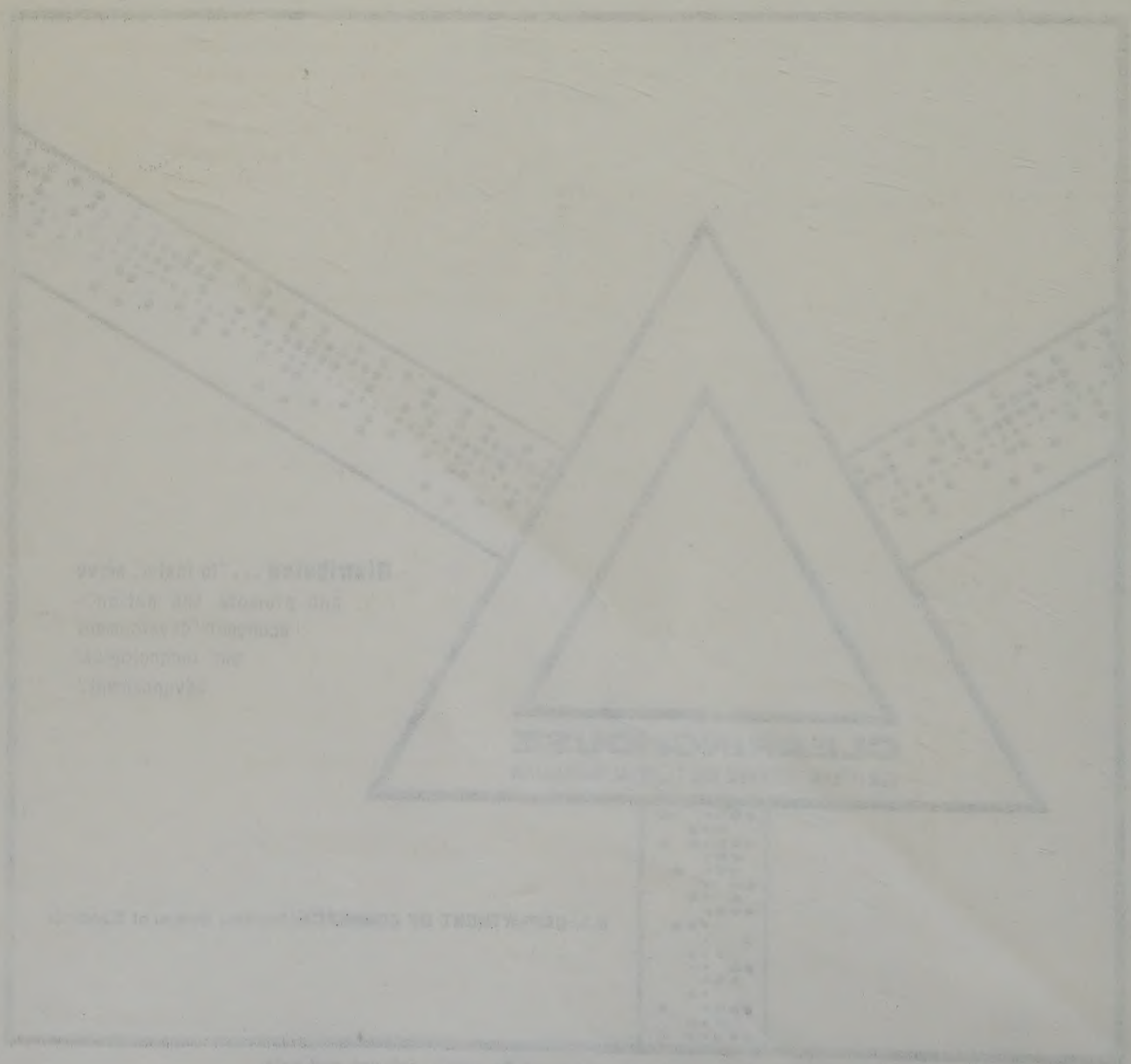

CMP-SCMM-70-07

中國大陸雜誌選輯

Selections from China Mainland Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B.C.C.

No. 685-686
July 24 & 31, 1970

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. Subscription rates are US$130 in the US and Canada, US$165 elsewhere. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

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U.S. Department of Commerce
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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Communist periodicals.

Struggle to Strengthen Ideological Building of the Party

by

Workers and PLA Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Team stationed in Peking University

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has proudly gone through 49 glorious fighting years and greeted the first "July 1" in the 1970s. The four years of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the victory of the 9th Party Congress have made our Party purer, stronger, more united and more vigorous than ever.

In leading the Chinese revolution Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the political party of the proletariat, and solved the question of Party building in the period of the new-democratic revolution and under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao is an open-door movement for Party consolidation, which is being conducted on an unprecedented scale in a revolutionary way. It is the broadest and most deep-going consolidation movement in our Party's history. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution we have gained extremely rich experience in the ways to strengthen the Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his Political Report to the 9th Party Congress, Vice Chairman Lin makes the penetrating point: "In the new historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat enforces its dictatorship and exercises its leadership in every field of work through its vanguard the Communist Party. Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of what kind of a party should be built and how it can be built."

The experience in Party consolidation and building at Peking University has made us realize that, in line with this instruction of Vice Chairman Lin's, we must take Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the fundamental, guiding thinking for Party building today, arm the Party members with it and raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution. Therefore we must put ideological building of the Party in the first place in the consolidating and building of the Party, as Chairman Mao always teaches.

However, people are not unanimous in recognizing the need for strengthening ideological consolidation and building. For instance, some think that Party consolidation means "getting rid of one group and taking in another group, and criticizing those who are neither good nor bad." As a

result, there is reflected among Party members the idea of "passing the test." Those who have small problems are indifferent while those who have serious problems wait to be "expelled." Some of the masses only want to "bypass the test" or think that "Party consolidation has nothing to do with us." These common erroneous trends of thinking have resulted from neglect of ideological consolidation and building of the Party.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks." ("On Coalition Government") Giving prominence to consolidating and building the Party ideologically reflects the requirements flowing from the nature and tasks of our Party and is not arbitrary. Our Party is the political party of the proletariat and is the advanced contingent of the proletariat. Only when the Party organizations at various levels and the Party members truly arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, is it possible to insure that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the policies and principles of the Party Central Committee can be carried out and that the great historic mission of leading the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can be accomplished.

In "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," a political manifesto for transforming the world in the image of the proletarian vanguard, Chairman Mao makes the penetrating point: "Though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology." This teaching of Chairman Mao's is of extremely great significance for guiding Party consolidation and building, and studying it today gives us intimate feelings.

Giving prominence to consolidating and building the Party ideologically under the dictatorship of the proletariat reflects the special characteristics and laws of class struggle. Chairman Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that socialist society covers a fairly long historical period and that classes, class contradictions and class struggle are prominent in this period in the political and ideological fields. Sharp and complicated political and ideological struggle similarly exists in the economic arena. "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." ("On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The struggle in society between the two classes and the two roads is bound to be reflected in our Party; the struggle between the two lines in the Party is the most penetrating expression of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This struggle will run through the entire historical socialist period as "the struggle will not cease until classes die out completely."

The revisionists within the Party are the bourgeoisie's best helpers and agents in different spheres, including the ideological sphere, in its vain attempts to restore capitalism. The bourgeoisie in society and the revisionists within the Party always do all they can to use bourgeois thinking to corrupt Party members and contaminate the body of the Party. Therefore, close attention must be paid in Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the struggle between the two lines and the two world outlooks and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung thought must be used to criticize revisionism. Strengthening ideological building of the Party is a fundamental measure to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

In the course of consolidating and building the Party, organizational consolidation is also very important. This is an important link in insuring the Party's purity and advanced quality, and it is imperative to do a good job of this in a conscientious and serious manner. The question is that the relation between organizational consolidation and ideological consolidation should be handled correctly. Giving prominence to ideological consolidation means giving prominence to the guidance and command of Mao Tsetung thought. Only by doing ideological consolidation first and well can organizational consolidation have the proper basis and orientation. At the same time, doing a good job of organizational consolidation is also in order better to carry out the Party's political line and accomplish the Party's political tasks. In the course of Party consolidation and building, we take organizational consolidation as the continuation of ideological consolidation. In carrying out organizational consolidation, it is still necessary to further educate those who have erred and the masses of Party members. Some comrades sometimes also talk about the need for ideological consolidation, but they take it as the means to organizational consolidation, as a step for Party members to "pass the test." Consequently, in the course of ideological consolidation, such erroneous attitudes as discussing a thing strictly on its own merit, settling the "minor score" or unrealistically making "serious accusations" can easily be generated. People with such erroneous attitudes would seek only organizational approval without seeking ideological improvement. Basically, organizational consolidation without the educational work of Mao Tsetung thought is bound to lead to punitiveness or "inner-Party peace" or liberalism. These are all the expressions of bourgeois ideology. In order to enable Party consolidation and building to proceed in a healthy manner, it is necessary not only to grasp ideological consolidation but to take it as the central link throughout the entire process of Party consolidation and building.

To do a good job of Party ideological consolidation and building, Party members and non-Party masses must be mobilized for mass study and criticism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The rectification movement is 'a widespread movement of Marxist education'." ("Speech at the National Propaganda Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") The fundamental task of ideological consolidation is to use Mao Tsetung thought to educate the large numbers of Party members so as to heighten their consciousness of

class struggle, the struggle between the two lines, and for continuing the revolution. It is essential to undertake a movement for studying Chairman Mao's thesis on Party building. Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to Party building and has always given priority to the question of the Party in the revolution and he has developed many extremely rich and important theses on Party building. At a vital juncture during the penetrating development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." This instruction of Chairman Mao's effectively criticizes the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on Party building and sums up the historical experience of our Party consolidation and building. We must seriously study this instruction of Chairman Mao's and the new Party constitution in combination with study of Chairman Mao's thesis on Party building and Mao Tsetung thought. Only thus shall we be able to understand more deeply and implement more consciously Chairman Mao's line on Party building and, in the course of practice, gradually understand and grasp the law of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the same time it is essential to criticize deeply Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on Party building, criticize his sinister book on "Self-cultivation" and criticize his sinister "six theories" [the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," the theory of docile tools," the theory that "the masses are backward," the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up," the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests") and criticize all kinds of Right and "Left" reactionary bourgeois trends of thought. It is imperative to combine mass criticism with the reality of class struggle in one's own unit, to combine the fight against self-interest with the criticism of revisionism, to link the top with the bottom, to grasp the fundamental, and to touch one's soul. In the matter of revolutionary mass criticism, it is necessary to guard against one major tendency covering up another tendency. In criticizing the theory of "docile tools," for example, it is also necessary to criticize anarchism, the absence of organization and discipline and the lack of Party concept. In criticizing the "theory that the masses are backward," it is also essential to criticize the tailism of "what the masses say counts". In criticizing the theory of "inner-Party peace," it is also necessary to oppose all words and deeds disruptive of the revolutionary great unity and unprincipled factional struggles, to oppose the mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and bourgeois factionalism. In the course of Party consolidation, we have guided the masses of Party members and the masses of people to give attention to the new trends of class struggle, to grasp the new problems under the new situation, to fully expose and criticize the reactionary bourgeois trends of thought under the new circumstances, so that they will be able to draw a clear line of ideological demarcation with the counter-revolutionary line and eliminate its pernicious influence.

A good job of ideological consolidation and building of the Party requires that we advocate the philosophy of struggle, to achieve both clarity in ideology and unity among comrades.

Chairman Mao teaches: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for insuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon." ("Oppose Liberalism") In the final analysis, the struggle between the two lines in the Party under the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of transforming the Party and the world according to the proletarian world outlook or according to the bourgeois world outlook. It is necessary for the proletarian world outlook to struggle against the bourgeois world outlook so that our Party is built into the vanguard continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vanguard that leads the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight to eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. "This change in world outlook is something fundamental." Consolidating the Party well ideologically means to every communist thoroughly remolding his world outlook and settling the question of joining the Party ideologically. Without active ideological struggle, it is impossible to help communists distinguish right from wrong, clarify ideology and bring about this change in world outlook. To clarify ideology means drawing a clear line between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, doing a good job of getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh ideologically. Therefore, we advocate the philosophy of struggle in Party consolidation and Party building, arouse Party members to fight self and criticize revisionism consciously, mobilize the masses outside the Party to give opinions freely, stir up vigorous, active ideological struggle, and go all-out in re-education on the struggle between the two lines and the two world outlooks.

We must oppose both erroneous Right and ultra "Left" tendencies in order to wage ideological struggle correctly.

The erroneous Right tendency rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace. A typical expression of this bourgeois decadent and vulgar style is the view that "open one eye and close another, and you will avoid running risks; say nothing good or nothing bad, and you will be blamed by no one." When this view is reflected within the Party, some hold the erroneous attitude that "be good to each other, and everything will be fine." This is a vestige of the pernicious theory of "inner-Party peace." It does not distinguish the good from the bad and has no orientation. To follow it would in effect abolish the consolidation of the Party. It is a corrosive agent for the Party rectification movement.

The erroneous ultra "Left" tendency approaches things in terms of absolutes and negates everything. It sees only trivial facts of behavior and not a person's integrity, sees only the past and not the present, sees the part and not the whole and in approaching problems, ignores a person's attitude. By the "philosophy of struggle," we mean upholding struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, upholding

struggle by Mao Tsetung thought against revisionism. Without this fundamental stand, one would become involved in unprincipled struggle; this is precisely a manifestation of the destructiveness and reactionary nature of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world outlook. It absolutely does not conform to the guiding thought of our Party.

In waging active ideological struggle, we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching: "This should be done in the spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." ("Our Study and the Current Situation") This policy of Chairman Mao's is the only correct policy advanced for struggle against the "Left" and Right opportunist lines--a policy that makes our Party vigorous and prosperous.

In carrying out this policy of Chairman Mao's, we must correctly understand and handle the dialectical relations among comrades in the Party and in the revolutionary ranks. We must use the dialectics of "one dividing into two" to make a comprehensive and historical analysis of Party members. When the analysis is good, great benefits can accrue from it. A premise for carrying out the Party policies is to draw a strict line of demarcation between the types of contradictions--those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and to draw a line between the advanced elements of the proletariat and the rank and file. As regards Party members who have made mistakes or committed serious errors, we should see both the gravity of their mistakes and the fact that the overwhelming majority of them are willing to follow Chairman Mao in continuing the revolution. We should see that they both were badly influenced by revisionism and have been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should see that though they still lag some way behind the demands set for Party members by the new Party constitution, the overwhelming majority of them can be helped to play the vanguard role of a communist. The practice of Party consolidation has made us realize that, although these Party members who have made mistakes start from a relatively low point in continuing the revolution, they are nevertheless willing to "change." Therefore, the stress should be laid on "change" with regard to them, and we should do everything possible to promote this "change" and focus on ideological struggle and build up our confidence in the unlimited power of Mao Tsetung thought in the transforming of people's souls. We should at once struggle against and unite with comrades who have made mistakes, "neither glossing things over nor doing harm to comrades." The struggle is aimed at keeping to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, at bringing about a revolutionary transformation and helping them correct their mistakes. By unity, we permit them to continue the revolution and encourage them to do so; this will strengthen the Party's fighting power and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a principle to uphold struggle ; it is also a principle to uphold unity. Struggle and unity are opposites in a single entity, and this means that, starting from the desire for unity and through criticism or struggle, we settle the contradictions and then achieve new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought.

Some comrades are unable to correctly achieve the twofold objective of clarifying ideology and uniting with comrades. One of the reasons for this is that they lack understanding of the dialectics of contradictions within the Party and are not conscious enough. They believe that Party organizations and Party members should be nothing but "pure" in ideology. This is an ambiguous concept of metaphysics. They do not know that "the antagonism and struggle among different ideas within the Party occur frequently; this is a reflection wihtin the Party of the class contradictions and the contradictions between the new and the old things in society. If there are no contradictions and no ideological struggle for resolving them within the Party, then the life of the Party would also come to an end." ("On Contradictions") The masses of Party members must frequently temper and transform themselves and grow up in the struggle against the bourgeois ideology, and the Party organizations, too, must consolidate themselves, develop and expand in the midst of struggle. Chairman Mao's teaching regarding "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" most vividly illustrates the dialectics of contradictions within the Party and most profoundly reveals the basic laws of the building and development of the Party. This policy of "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" requires our Party to continue to expose, analyze and settle contradictions according to Mao Tsetung thought and to use the proletarian world outlook to overcome bourgeois world outlook in various fields--politics, ideology, organization, and style of work. By his teaching of "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh," Chairman Mao has precisely armed us with the revolutionary dialectics of "one dividing into two" as regards world outlook, so that we will build a revolutionary party of the proletariat while persisting in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism.

There are a small number of people who in the course of Party consolidation departed from Chairman Mao's correct principle of clarity of ideology and unity among comrades. This is inseparable from their individualistic stand. We met some people who were seriously affected by bourgeois factionalism. To those Party members whose opinions differed from theirs, they took the erroneous practice "firstly criticizing, secondly struggling against, and thirdly discrediting them," hoping that through Party consolidation they could develop the "self-interest" of one group or one individual. Such people put in the wrong place the relationship between the individual and the Party, and they are highly individualistic. Since they start from the wrong point of departure, the policy they adopt must also be wrong. While paying lip service to "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh," they actually want to "get rid of those who keep away from them and take in those who are near them," hoping to "get rid of one group and take in another" by their own standard or the standard of their small faction. Such "organizational consolidation" is exactly an attempt to transform our Party in the image of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat will never permit them to do so. The proletarian Party spirit is basically antagonistic to the bourgeois factionalism as water is to fire. In the course of Party consolidation we have guided every one of the Party members and revolutionary comrades to embrace the proletarian party spirit and the

Party policies, and permitted no one to use bourgeois factionalism to deal with the consolidation and building of the Party or to turn the vanguard of the proletariat into a bourgeois factionialist organization.

In brief, in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on Party building while consolidating and building the Party, it is necessary to advocate active ideological struggle to achieve both clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. This philosophy of struggle insures that our Party will make constant progress and always be full of vigor. Only thus will it be possible to eliminate the pernicious influence of revisionism and at the same time unite with the greatest number of comrades, and "create the kind of vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind." This will make the masses of Party members sounder ideologically and our Party organizations stronger, more vigorous and more capable of standing all tests.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously." To do a good job in ideological consolidation and building of the Party, it is necessary to guide the Party members in summing up their historical experience conscientiously with the aid of Mao Tsetung thought.

To consolidate the Party ideologically requires the Party members' consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to be raised. However, some Party members are satisfied with passing the examination without summing up their experience or improving themselves. Their minds are occupied with this thought: "When you have been examined, criticized and passed, you are free of trouble." In this way, the aim of ideological consolidation cannot be truly achieved. In order to further deepen and raised ideological consolidation, we have in the course of Party consolidation guided the Party members in raising the course of struggle against self and criticism of revisionism to the level of summing up their historical experience with the aid of Mao Tsetung thought so as to accomplish a leap in cognition.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Men's correct ideas can come only from social practice." ("Where Do Men's Correct Ideas Come From?") He points out further: "We cannot immediately understand the things we have felt, but only when we understand them can we feel them more profoundly." ("On Practice") Having gone through four years of the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no precedent as regards breadth and depth, the masses of Party members, looking back on the road they have travelled, have gained profound and rich personal experiences. These experiences are precious. However, to use them to guide our future practice, we must still find out the relevant laws from them, turn experience into consciousness, and turn historical experience into the motive force for continuing the revolution, "so that what is correct may be popularized and mistakes may not be repeated." Otherwise, without summing up our experience, we cannot achieve a leap in cognition and we would still follow a blind course in taking action in the future, and may possibly repeat the past mistakes.

Summing up experience consists of discovering laws, looking ahead to the future and raising one's consciousness in continuing the socialist revolution. Every Party member must take Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the criterion and, from the standpoint of the interests of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, examine his own stand in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. This should be done against the background of the struggle between the two lines in Our Party and in the light of the tasks for continuing the revolution. By reviewing the "whole process of the movement--its inception, its development and its present state," one must make a clear distinction between those of one's ideas and actions which conform to Chairman Mao's teachings and therefore are correct and those which run counter to Chairman Mao's teachings and therefore are incorrect. Every one--whether he is a Party member who has or has not made serious mistakes, whether a Party member who is a veteran cadre or an intellectual, or whether he is a Party member who is a Red Guard fighter--must sum up his experience in the light of his own characteristics. Through summing up one's experience, one will be able to know how to continue the revolution, eliminate the obstacles in one's way and gradually discover the laws for remolding one's world outlook and continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We can judge a thing only by comparing it with another. With judgment and struggle, we shall be able to develop." ("Speech at the National Propaganda Conference of the Chinese Communist Party") It is necessary to sum up both the positive experience and the negative experience, and use them as two mirrors for continuing the revolution. Especially it is imperative to pay attention to the unsuccessful experience for it may serve as a guide to people to avoid future mistakes.

In correctly summing up experience, we must take the stand of the proletarian revolution and, using Mao Tsetung thought as the guide, take an active attitude in knowing problems. Otherwise, we would go astray. Some people "who have stumbled once are afraid of walking for three years." In this case, the lessons they should have learned become a burden on them. Some people, going from one extreme to another, criticized the "theory of going to school to become an official" only to become later adherents of the "theory that it is useless to go to school." Having criticized the "theory of joining the Party in order to become an official," they then clung to the "theory that political work is dangerous." Thus, those who start from the bourgeois stand and study things and analyze problems with the bourgeois world outlook are bound to become shortsighted politically, and whatever "experience" is summed up can only be negative and erroneous, which can only lead people back to the old road.

In real life, if people do not sum up their experience correctly with the proletarian world outlook, they will sum up their experience erroneously with the bourgeois world outlook. Summing up experience correctly is an important link for arousing the vigorous revolutionary spirit in Party members.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." The Marxist-Leninist line put forward by Chairman Mao on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the lifeline of our Party. To sum up experience conscientiously, it is imperative to raise the ideological consciousness of the Party members to the plane of this line. Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be explained every year, every month and every day. Only thus will it be possible for the Party members and revolutionary masses consciously to grasp and defend the Party's lifeline. This will guarantee the advance of our Party along the orbit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiement are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible." This great strategic measure, which Chairman Mao put forward to oppose revisionism and prevent its emergence and to enable the Party to keep its youthfulness and vitality forever, points out the fundamental way for consolidating and building the Party. In order to do a good job of ideological consolidation and building of the Party, the masses of Party members must be guided to plunge deep into the three great revolutionary movements and continuously make revolution and remold their world outlook.

As far as the masses of Party members are concerned, the consolidation and building of the Party, which has been going on for some period, represents not the terminus of the revolution but a new point of departure for continuing the revolution. However, some Party members have acquired the idea that "having passed the examination, we have reached the end of the revolution." This runs counter to the demands for Party consolidation and building. Through Party consolidation, Party members should more vigorously plunge into the three great revolutionary movements and play the vanguard role of leading the masses in combat. The fact that the idea of "revolution coming to an end" with the Party having been consolidated shows that ideological struggle is a protracted one and the question of world outlook cannot be settled with one or two consolidations. In order to change the objective world, communists must change their subjective world, and it is only through changing the objective world in the revolutionary movements can the subjective world be thoroughly changed. It is only through class struggle, practical work and going among the workers, peasants and soldiers that the Party members can really master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and "transform Marxism in words into Marxism in real life." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art")

Since the consolidation and building of the Party, the masses of Party members at Peking University, with vigor and vitality, have plunged into the three great revolutionary movements and are now advancing along

the road of continuing the revolution. They have brought their revolutionary enthusiasm into full play in taking the glorious road of the "May 7" directive and in the practice of the proletarian revolution in education. They are taking the workers, peasants and soldiers as their teachers, searching for the cause of their lagging behind, and touching their souls, thereby further eliminating the pernicious poison of revisionism. Party members among many intellectuals who previously hankered after the tall institute buildings and life on the lake or in the tower are now having a warm love for the straw huts, the home-made k'ang and kerosene lamps. Whereas they were formerly fighting for their personal fame, they are now fighting for the lofty goals of communism. And whereas they formerly despised the workers, peasants and soldiers, and divorced themselves from labor, they are now humbly learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers and striving to serve them. Their mentality has undergone a profound change. Such an inspiring, new atmosphere has led us to recognize deeply that the rich practice of the three great revolutionary movements constitutes a big classroom for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's theory on Party building and the new Party constitution, a big melting pot for the tempering of the communists' Party spirit, and a vast battleground for bringing the communists' advanced quality and militancy into full play. Every Party member and revolutionary who asks to join the Party must forever involve himself in the three great revolutionary movements and unswervingly keep on taking the broad path of integrating himself with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Consolidating and building the Party in line with Mao Tsetung thought is of paramount importance for continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." Without the Communist Party there would have been no new China; without the leadership of the Party there will be no continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, we must carry on the struggle-criticism-transformation deeply and well and fulfill all the fighting tasks set by the 9th Party Congress, and to this end we must further strengthen Party leadership in every link. Every Party member and revolutionary must strengthen his Party concept, resolutely resist and criticize the Right and ultra "Left" bourgeois, reactionary trends, and consciously accept the Party leadership and defend it.

"Ours is a great party, a glorious party, a correct party." For almost half a century, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, our Party has led the masses in the resplendent cause of seizing political power and consolidating it. Today, we are engaged in the great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, something never before attempted. We must continuously strengthen the ideological building of the Party, further arm ourselves with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution and struggle to build our Party into a greater, more glorious and more correct Party.

* * *

Strengthen the Ideological Construction of the Party Committee

by

The CCP Committee of the Shenyang Metallurgical Works

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Resume: This article raises the fundamental question that ideological construction of the Party committee must closely revolve around the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. As soon as a new Party committee is set up, it is imperative to know the protracted character of class struggle, to raise incessantly one's consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, to conduct the rectification campaign periodically, to rectify various kinds of Right and "Left" erroneous tendencies and to strengthen the leadership of the Party.

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Formerly a plant seriously ravaged by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the matter of management, our Shenyang Metallurgical Works saw, during the great proletarian cultural revolution movement, its entire revolutionary workers closely follow the great leader Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, deeply criticize and repudiate renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, seize back once again the leadership of the plant and return it to the hands of the proletariat, thus making it possible for the plant to restore its revolutionary youth and become a flourishing socialist enterprise.

Beginning in October 1968, in accordance with Chairman Mao's Party-building program that "the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat and should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy," we launched a mass movement for the consolidation and building of the Party, and set up a new Party committee in August 1969. By way of Party consolidation and Party building work, we have greatly raised the consciousness of the broad masses of Party members in class struggle, the struggle in line and the continuation of the revolution, put the relationship between the Party and the masses on a more cordial footing, purified the Party organization and strengthened the fighting power of the Party.

Summing up the positive and negative experiences of the past twenty years, we have come to understand clearly that departure from the proletarian dictatorship and from the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat was the most fundamental cause for deviation from

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line when the plant was operated in the past. After the establishment of the new Party committee, the important task before us is the need for adhering firmly to Chairman Mao's great theory--continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and around the fundamental question of strengthening and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, the need for strengthening Party building incessantly, and the need for further bringing into play the role of the Party organization as the fighting citadel and the vanguard and the exemplary role of Party members.

Know the Protracted Character of Class Struggle, Strengthen Consciousness in Party Building

After the establishment of the new Party committee in the wake of the excellent situation, our Party committee loosened the cord of class struggle and engendered the idea Party building can be relaxed for a while. Some comrades thought that in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the capitalist roaders had been toppled, the hidden class enemies had been dragged out, and even if a few maggots were left in the sauce urn, they also could not turn it upside down. Others thought that after the Party consolidation and Party building movement, the company's ideological construction was almost accomplished, and that they could control things for a while, if not for life. In Party building, therefore, they found satisfaction in the normalization of Party life and the engrossment of Party members in work, and loosened their grip on the key link of class struggle. Some Party members were indifferent to class struggle and some Party members even did not draw a dividing line with the class enemies.
The class enemies seized the opportunity to carry out activities. Some of them sabotaged production and others openly called for reversal of verdicts.

It is noteworthy that some bad characters changed the method of attack by flattering and eulogizing some constituent members of our Party committee. One bad fellow of the dynamics workshop openly declared: "I'll extol anyone in office and trample underfoot anyone who has lost his office." A member of the Party committee elected from among the cooks served concurrently as secretary of the Party general branch attached to a service department. During the great cultural revolution, he dared make revolution and achieved certain merits. On one occasion, because he was injured on duty, some people especially provided him with a room equipped with a radio set. He was served with good meals gratis. These people took good care of him and addressed him "secretary." He felt happy and contented. When class struggle was launched in the economic sphere, the masses brought to light that one of those who constantly moved around the Party general branch secretary was actually a corrupt element.

The stark reality of the class struggle brought sobriety to our minds. With these problems in mind, we studied Chairman Mao's works and the new Party Constitution. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle,

there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Chairman Mao's teaching made us understand that communists must carry out class struggle, and once class struggle is abandoned, the thing of fundamental importance cannot be grasped in Party building. The class struggle is a protracted one and so is Party building. Neither the class struggle nor Party building can be grasped for a while and abandoned for a while.

In order to raise the consciousness of the class struggle of the members of the Party committee, the broad masses of Party members and the revolutionary masses and to further Party building ideologically, we thoroughly mobilized the masses, took Chairman Mao's theory concerning class and class struggle as the weapon, brought out the new tendency of class struggle in the plant, and exposed the lethargic thought of the Party committee. Members of the Party committee went amidst the masses to set fire to [criticize] themselves. They brought the Party members to the first line of class struggle, led the broad masses to attack the enemy, dealt a crushing blow at the arrogance of the class enemy, unearthed a handful of deeply entrenched class enemies, and gave the whole body of Party members and the broad revolutionary masses a most deep-going course of education in the class struggle.

From the numerous facts exposed by the struggle waged on this occasion against the enemy, we come to understand further that under the conditions of the great victory won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the center of the class struggle remains to be the question of political power. The bourgeoisie vainly attempts to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and to restore capitalism, while the proletariat wants to strengthen and consolidate with great vigor the proletarian dictatorship and to guard against capitalist restoration. If we are negligent of the ideological construction of the Party, if the proletariat does not take the initiative to attack the bourgeoisie, and if "a struggle is not waged by the proletariat against non-proletarian ideas," then there is still the danger of the proletariat losing once again the political power it has won.

Raise the Consciousness of the Struggle between the Two Lines, Conscientiously Transform the World Outlook

The lines and the general and specific policies of the Party are implemented and carried out through Party organizations at various levels. We are deeply aware that the Party committee must exert itself in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, raise the consciousness of its members in the struggle between the two lines, unswervingly implement and carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and lead the broad revolutionary masses to follow steadfastly the socialist road.

At first, some of our comrades had no clear understanding of this question. Some comrades declared that since the new Party committee born in the Party consolidation and Party building movement was a new body with new

personages, it of course carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Practice tells us that the capitalist roaders had been overthrown, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line had been criticized and repudiated and a revolutionary leading body had been set up by way of the great cultural revolution, and this was a great victory. However, bourgeois ideas cannot be sealed and buried overnight.

A member of the Party committee who was a veteran worker by origin, was full of drive for work. On one occasion, he led the masses to take part in labor in aid of agriculture. Seeing that the whole gang was full of drive for work, he declared at lunch time: "Since I have the say today, bread and sausage will be sold at half price. You people ought to work harder after the meal." As a result, he promoted material incentive. Later, the masses criticized him and he was enraged. Our Party committee held a meeting to help him raise his consciousness. A standing committee member of the Party committee who was formerly the superintendent of the plant and had commited the mistake of a capitalist roader used the lesson he had learned to enlighten the comrade in question. He said: "When I first came to the factory, I put on a green cotton-padded coat and wore a tobacco pouch at my waist. I also had a stiff back. Because I did not study Mao Tsetung thought and did not transform my world outlook, I merely laid stress on work, to the neglect of the 'key link' and the 'line.' I did not know that I had been poisoned by 'Liu's poison, thus harming myself as well as the masses." This observation gave the new cadre a profound course of education. He said: "In the past, we made revolution against people. If we did not make revolution against ourselves today, we would commit the mistakes of the capitalist roaders." This also gave all comrades of the Party committee a profound course of education. Everybody came to understand that the simple and plain proletarian feeling could not take the place of the consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and that there was still the question of struggle between the two lines in the new leading body.

In order to raise the consciousness of the members of the Party committee in the struggle in line and to strengthen their consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we constantly looked for problems from the management of the enterprise, the causes from the leadership of the Party committee, the direction from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the consequences from the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The question of orientation in operating enterprises was solved in conjunction with strengthening the construction of the Party committee, and the question of right and wrong in line was clarified as the ideological revolutionization of the Party committee was boosted.

In September last year, when analyzing the situation of production in the plant, we discovered that although the production tasks of the past three quarters were better fulfilled, yet because the management had not been strengthened, an abundance of non-ferrous metal disappeared in smoke, was drained away through the sewers or was thrown away as rubbish, thus causing the production cost of products to rise to some extent. We seized this problem and mobilized the masses to help the Party committee to conduct analysis on the basis of the struggle between the two lines. By way of analysis, we came to understand that the economic losses and waste

were principally incurred by the inability of our Party committee to distinguish right from wrong in line and in leadership thought. After "profit in command" was criticized and repudiated, the phenomenon of paying no attention to cost of production emerged, and things moved from one extreme to another. The masses sharply criticized us saying: "You only grasp the production task but do not grasp the struggle between the two lines in the production sphere." This touched us greatly, and we deeply felt that we were still affected by "Liu's poison"--the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. With our understanding raised, we energetically grasped the struggle between the two lines in the production sphere, and mobilized the revolutionary workers of the whole plant to study, publicize and carry out to the letter the "Anshan Steel Constitution." We fiercely criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and all kinds of "theory preaching that waste is difficult to avoid," and established advanced models in hard struggle, diligence and frugality.

Facts show that whether or not the struggle between the two lines is grasped makes a lot of difference. In the 4th quarter, the cost of production of the whole plant dropped by four million yuan in comparison with the last nine months, and the production plan of the whole year was fulfilled 21 days ahead of schedule. What was of greater importance was that the broad revolutionary masses raised their consciousness of the struggle in line and went further to define clearly the socialist orientation in operating enterprises. We understand from the practice of this struggle that only by incessantly raising the consciousness of the struggle in line of members of the Party committee and unreservedly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can the Party committee give a good lead and realize the leadership of the Party in enterprises.

Chairman Mao taught us: "The change in world outlook is a fundamental change." We constantly led understanding in the struggle between the two lines toward revolution in the world outlook. There was a standing committee member of the Party committee who concurrently exercized control over production. He knew that it was wrong to "grasp production alone" and that it was also incorrect not to grasp production. But because of the "self-interest" in his mind, he was afraid of committing once again the mistake of not bringing politics to the fore. He therefore laid down for himself a "three waiting" principle, and he waited until there was concrete instruction from a higher level, until experience had been created by other units and until the Party committee made a decision before he grasped production. Because he put "fear" above everything else, he dared not grasp production, and consequently committed a new mistake. We helped him study Chairman Mao's works and the new Party Constitution with this problem in mind, and thus enabled him to understand that as a communist he should bear the great objective of the revolution in mind, put Party interests above all and actively make a success of his own work, and that he should not take whether or not a mistake would be committed as the

point of departure in considering a question. He therefore took the initiative to go among the masses to combat self and criticize revisionism. He went to the first line of production to solve problems and substituted "three waiting" with "three daring"--daring to grasp production for the revolution, daring to fight against erroneous ideas and tendencies for the great objective of realizing communism and daring to cut a new way to bring glory to Chairman Mao. We further came to understand that the proletarian world outlook is the ideological foundation for carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and that the bourgeois world outlook is the ideological origin of the carrying out of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Only by taking the five "musts" for Party members as the criteria, thoroughly transforming the world outlook and truly joining the Party ideologically can the unreserved implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line be guaranteed.

Strengthen the Leadership of the Party, Make a Success of Party Building with the Door Open

Chairman Mao teaches us: "One basic principle of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the broad masses of the revolutionary people." The mass line is the basic line of our Party. The leadership of the Party and the mass line of the Party entirely coincide with each other. In order to lead the revolutionary masses to fight, the Party must have faith in and rely on the masses and firmly adhere to the mass line. In the course of building a stronger Party, we constantly adopt the method of inviting in and going out, make a success of Party building, and mobilize the masses to discuss and criticize the Party committee. Every time the Party committee is discussed and criticized, the consciousness of the leading body of the Party committee in the struggle in line is enhanced, ideological revolutionization takes another step forward, and the relationship between the Party and the masses becomes closer.

We realize that in order to make a success of Party building with the door open, it is imperative to strengthen the leadership of the Party and to combat various erroneous ideas and tendencies.

In January this year, to rectify the work style of the pampered sons of the bourgeoisie--"a bit of waste doesn't matter in view of the size of our family and undertaking"--in our leadership, we decided to make public the question and mobilized the masses to expose, criticize and repudiate it. At the time, some comrades were skeptical of such necessity. They were worried that this would lower the prestige of the Party committee, and they advocated that the problems of the Party committee should be solved within the Party committee. Should we "lift off the lid and expose the infamy of the family" or "keep down the lid and be afraid of the masses"?

We fiercely criticized renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the masses are backward," firmly handle things according to Chairman Mao's line of Party building, and went all out to urge the masses to criticize the backward aspect of our leadership thought. Proceeding from their concern for Party building, the broad masses actively helped us to carry out revolution.

In the short span of a little more than ten days, more than 4,000 big-character posters were put up. The crux of the question was grasped, and we were helped to get to the root of thought.

Facts showed that the misgivings were unnecessary and that the skepticism was also unfounded. If the leading body alone were depended on, the struggle between the two lines could not be clarified behind a closed door, nor could rectification be made behind a close door. With the lid kept down, there would not be higher prestige. On the contrary, when shortcomings and mistakes were corrected with the help of the masses, the prestige would become higher and higher.

Many workers declared: "When there were problems within the Party in the past, the capitalist roaders either kept down the lid or purged the masses. When the new Party committee has problems, it takes the initiative to make a self-examination and assume responsibility, and mobilized the masses to help it solve them. We have faith in such a leading body and we support it deep in our hearts!" By way of this struggle, those comrades who were formerly skeptical of the wisdom of conducting the rectification campaign with the door open were also profoundly educated. They declared: "The revolutionary workers are the masters of the factory and they are best able to distinguish what is Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and what is Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Divorced from the supervision and assistance of the masses, we cannot truly handle things according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

After we overcame the Right conservative thought and threw open the door of Party building, some people who were more seriously affected by the anarchic trend of thought offered interference from the "Left" side. They declared: "We must attend every Party conference and question Party affairs." On one occasion, our Party committee convened a meeting to study the question of adjusting and filling out the leading body at the basic level. After the chieftain of a mass organization learned of this, he came to question the Party committee secretary: "What question did you study in the meeting? Why was I not asked to attend the meeting?"

We held that this was not the correct attitude toward strengthening the leadership of the Party and helping the Party committee make a success of work. In light of this erroneous tendency, as we launched the mass movement for studying the new Party Constitution, we criticized and repudiated anarchism and the "theory of many centers, that is, no center," drew a dividing line between trusting and relying on the masses and the anarchic thought of doing what the masses demanded, and unified the enforcement of the mass line with persistence in the leadership of the Party. We educated the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses to strengthen their Party ideas, to give correct positions to the individual and the Party and to accept consciously the leadership of the Party, thus making everybody understand that the force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party which cannot be replaced with any other organization. After conducting this course of education, there appeared in the whole factory the vivid scene of the masses showing concern for Party building and firmly upholding the leadership of the Party.

In the course of mobilizing the masses to make a success of Party building, we also opposed and overcame the tailist tendency to abandon the leadership of the Party. For a period of time, our Party committee adopted the attitude of conniving at the interference from the "Left." Some comrades put "fear" above everything else, and under the pretext of "accommodating emotions," "not hurting feelings" and "arousing enthusiasm," they dared not adhere firmly to the principles of the Party, and were even unable to draw a dividing line between the Party and the masses, between the Party and the government, thus weakening the leadership of the Party. The broad masses of Party members criticized us saying: "You of the Party committee just pay lip service to strengthening the leadership of the Party but are actually abandoning the leadership of the Party." We went further to study Chairman Mao's Party building program, drew a clear dividing line between the highest form of organization of the proletariat and the ordinary mass organizations, and unified the advanced character and mass foundation of the Party and government of the proletariat.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory." Our Party is the political party of the proletariat composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. To realize the far-reaching ideals of communisms, we must firmly establish the thought of continuing with the revolution, and must not be lethargic and slack. We should incessantly strengthen Party building in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, conscientiously study and firmly implement and carry out Chairman Mao's Party building doctrine and the new Party Constitution, make a greater, more glorious and more correct party of our Party, and full of vigor and vitality lead the broad revolutionary masses to fight for fulfilling the great historic mission of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

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Continue to Advance Along Chairman Mao's Line on Party Building

- Investigation report on the Party Branch of First Workshop of Peking Boiler Plant

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Resume: This article introduces a Party branch which seriously studies and executes Chairman Mao's line on Party building. This branch since its existence has strengthened its ideological building by persistently applying Chairman Mao's theory of Party building, grasped class struggle firmly, used revolution to take command of production, and revolutionized its leading group. It has played the role both as a fighting fortress and as a vanguard model for Party members.

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The First Workshop of Peking Boiler Plant is one that produces the main body of the boiler. It has a total of 70 Party members. In accordance with our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that "the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy," and also in accordance with the various provisions of the new Party Constitution, it has carried out the work of Party consolidation and Party building. In October 1969, it set up a new Party branch. For the past half a year since then, the Party branch has armed its members and the revolutionary masses with Chairman Mao's proletarian theory of Party building. It has firmly grasped the ideological revolutionization of its leading group. And it has played the role both as a fighting fortress and as a vanguard model for the Party members during the three major revolutionary movements--class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation. The result is the emergence of an atmosphere of vitality and vigor in revolution and production.

Continue to Study the New Party Constitution, Strengthen the Party's Ideological Building

The Party branch faced many tasks when it was founded. But what should it grasp first? Some Party members thought "now that Party consolidation has been completed, all we have to do is to take care of production and reform the systems." Others thought "after the great cultural revolution and after Party consolidation and Party building, there isn't any problem left." This state of affairs attracted the full attention of the Party branch. Some veteran workers also sincerely suggested to the Party branch: "We must not forget the past lessons and take the same old path. We must not relax ideological and political work."

The Party branch made a serious study of Chairman Mao's teaching that "grasping ideological education is the central link for uniting the whole Party to carry out great political struggles." It reviewed the lessons drawn from the grave losses brought to the revolutionary cause by the practice of attending only to production and not to politics. And in the light of the new problems that cropped up after the Party consolidation, it came to the conclusion that ideological building of the Party was fundamental to the building of the Party branch. If the Party's ideological building were relaxed, it would lose its soul and go astray.

In carrying out Party's ideological building, the Party branch has perseveringly clung to two principles: One is to arm the Party members with Chairman Mao's proletarian theory of Party building so as to continuously raise the Party members' consciousness of continuing the revolution; the other is to freely mobilize the masses to evaluate and supervise the Party members so that the latter will maintain constant close ties with the masses. This, in the view of the Party branch, is the basic guarantee that the Party organization will continue to advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

They combined the study of Chairman Mao's proletarian theory of Party building with that of the new Party constitution, regarding the study, execution and implementation of the new Party constitution as a matter of top priority for the building of the Party branch. At first, some comrades, unconscious of the need to study and apply the new Party constitution in a creative manner, thought that they had studied it adequately at the time of the Party consolidation and that therefore they had nothing more to learn from it.

In view of this, the Party branch first helped everyone to solve the question as how to understand the new Party constitution. It organized the Party members and the masses to study conscientiously Chairman Mao's work, "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas within the Party," and Vice Chairman Lin's Political Report at the 9th Party Congress, and to look back to the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party. They were thus enabled to further understand that the new Party constitution is the best generalization of Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on the building of the Party and is a great program for carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction and realizing communism. If we acted in accordance with the new Party constitution, we would be able to make the Party members vanguard fighters for the proletariat in the midst of practical struggle, and to make the Party organization all the stronger, more vigorous and militant. In this way, the consciousness of the Party members and the masses with regard to the study of the new Party constitution was considerably heightened, and there appeared a new atmosphere in the workshop where everyone seriously studied the new Party constitution and firmly acted according to it.

For the past half a year and more the Party branch, in the light of the situation and tasks and the living ideas of the Party members in different periods, has successively stirred up five upsurges in the mass

study of the new Party constitution. Once it was set up, the Party branch studied the five "main tasks" for basic-level organizations as laid down in the new Party constitution and made sure the political orientation for its work. When developing new Party members, it organized the activists who were requesting to join the Party to study the character of the Party, its ultimate aim and fighting tasks, to establish the long-range goal of dedicating their lives to the struggle for communism, and to put right their motivation for joining the Party. When it was making a general evaluation of the "four-goods," it studied the "five-musts" for Party members, put the question of honor in its proper perspective, and fully developed its role as vanguard model for Party members. When criticizing anarchism, it studied the Party leadership and the Party's organizational principles, strengthened its concept of the Party and intensified its sense of organization and discipline. When unfolding the class struggle in the economic field, it studied the "four things in existence" thesis, asking the Party members to lead the broad masses to fight against the class enemy. In ordinary times the various Party groups also organized the Party members and the masses to study the new Party constitution in relation to their own activities. As they have persisted in the fine style of linking theory with reality and of creative study and application, every time the new Party constitution was studied, one or two relevant problems were solved in the appropriate manner, and fruitful results were obtained from study. Thus, showing an ever greater interest in study, everyone has gone on learning something new.

In the course of study, the Party branch leads its members to take the lead in study and application. They first applied what they had learned to the transformation of their own thought and speeded up their own revolutionization. They also consciously infused the spirit of the new Party constitution into the various aspects of the work of the Party branch. When summing up or examining results of work, they invariably take the new Party constitution as a yardstick in criticizing or commending Party members. The secretary of the Party branch once was under attack during the great cultural revolution, and in the past he felt he had been wronged, because he always thought that he had toiled arduously for a long time. After he had repeatedly studied the new Party constitution, he realized that, poisoned by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, he had in the past departed from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, bringing harm to the work of the Party. He said, deeply moved, "After I have studied the new Party constitution, I know where I should go, acquire strength for struggle, and cannot go wrong in doing things."

In the course of study, the Party branch asked the Party members to put emphasis on solving the question of how to join the Party ideologically and to be a proletarian advanced element. The Party branch guided the Party members to examine themselves from the standpoint of the proletarian world outlook and the standpoint of the great goal of lifelong dedication to the struggle for communism, to break down the self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, to transform their world outlook, and to criticize and overcome the erroneous ideas such as "there is no trouble in looking backward and in making yourself comparable to others and there is no need to feel anxious about your future" that are existing in a minority of Party members.

There was a woman Party member who in the past believed that she was incapable of playing an exemplary role as she had many children and was in ill health. Having studied the new Party constitution and raised her consciousness of continuing the revolution, she said: "Comrade Wang Kuo-fu was more seriously ill than I was, yet he did not loosen his grip on the train of the revolution all the way until communism was reached. The small difficulties that I have are really nothing!" She took the heroic character as her example in all respects and actively worked at the first line of grasping revolution and promoting production. The masses said in praise of her: "She is a different person now. From a 'common people' Party member she has become a vanguard fighter full of vigor."

A Party member who was an old worker formerly thought that since he would soon retire, he had only a few years to fool around. Study raised his consciousness and revigorated his revolutionary youth. Said he, "I am old, but my thinking cannot grow 'old.' As long as I live, I'll work for communism." Since then he has applied what he learns from Chairman Mao's works and displayed great enthusiasm in revolutionary mass criticism and production.

Through their studies, the broad masses of Party members have further realized that the Party's task is to rid the earth of imperialism, revisionism and reaction, to liberate the entire mankind, and to realize communism. Consequently, they have considerably raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution and are determined to exert themselves in doing the present work in various fields well.

After it was established, the Party branch, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that the masses outside the Party be invited to take part in the evaluation for Party consolidation, continued to freely mobilize the masses to evaluate and supervise the Party members. There are several ways of doing this. One, "going out": Party members take the initiative to call on the masses to talk to them on intimate terms and solicit their opinions about themselves (Party members). Two, "inviting them in": Party groups convene organizational life meetings and invite representatives of the masses to attend in order to give their opinions to Party members. Three, "regular evaluations": Once in three months Party members and committee members of the Party branch are to be evaluated.

In the course of evaluations, the Party branch first of all organizes everyone to study seriously the new Party constitution, calling on the Party members to take the new Party constitution as the standard in making strict demands on themselves and in fighting self-interest and criticizing revisionism. It guides the masses to evaluate the Party members, commend the achievements made, and help the Party members overcome their drawbacks in accordance with the provisions of the new Party constitution. By so doing, the Party branch not only exercises effective supervision over the Party members and its own work but also provides the Party members and the masses a deep education on Chairman Mao's proletarian theory on Party building. As some worker comrades said, "Using the new Party constitution to evaluate the Party members makes them redder and makes for greater unity and closer ties between the Party and the masses."

Placing the Party members under the supervision of the masses will be helpful to urging the Party members to solve the question of joining the Party ideologically and in making them forever vigorous. After the assistant secretary of the Party branch became a cadre, he became arrogant at one time. With the evaluation and help from the masses, he realized that although his position had changed, his view of the working people must not change, his thinking of serving the people must not change, and his attitude of being a pupil must not change. From that moment on, he has consulted the masses when problems arise, and he goes to places of hardship. Once, when a crane was hoisting a cylinder with the high temperature of 700-800 degrees, he was the first to dash toward it. His clothes were so roasted that smoke emitted from them. But he showed no fear and promptly connected the hooks. His spirit of not fearing hardship moved the worker comrades on the spot. They said, "He is our good cadre indeed!"

On one occasion, some comrades of Shift No. 1 sharply complained: "In the whole of last year, we toiled as much as others, but why were we not given the four-good standard? It was because the Party group did not play the role of hardcore." Thereupon, the Party group held a study class for Party members and veteran workers. They seriously studied the new Party constitution, searched for the cause of their failure, and overcame the drawback of Party members whose self-interest prevented them from giving their best. And the militant unity among Party members was strengthened. In the course of its work, the Party group puts proletarian politics to the fore, studies problems collectively, and achieves unity of view and action. The Party members play their exemplary and leading role in every respect. In this way, comrades of the whole shift are twisted into one single rope. They have made remarkable achievements in grasping revolution and promoting production and turned their shift into an advanced shift overnight.

Regular evaluations by the masses become a motive force for the Party members to continue the revolution. And the fact that the Party members are brave in correcting their defects and mistakes and make exacting demands on themselves, prompts and inspires the broad masses of workers with revolutionary enthusiasm. As a result of attending to work in this respect, this Party branch has not only resolved in time the contradictions between the Party and the masses but also united the comrades of the whole workshop closely around Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. An old worker said emotionally, "In the past some Party members had no respect for the masses, nor was I willing to raise my opinions. This was a situation created by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Now, when I see some defects in Party members, I cannot restrain myself from raising my opinions. If I did not do so, I would feel I had let Chairman Mao down." Today, the Party members and the revolutionary masses in the entire workshop are united and, under the leadership of the Party branch, are advancing together on the revolutionary path indicated by Chairman Mao.

Never Forget Class Struggle, Adhere to the Basic Orientation

The New Party constitution explicitly stipulates: "Party members and the broad revolutionary masses must be given regularly an education on the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and must be led to wage a resolute fight against the class enemies." This Party branch looks upon firm grasping of class struggle and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship as its important task. And it sends the Party members to join the violent class struggle, to be tempered and tested in heavy wind and storms, so that they will bring into full play their role as vanguard fighters of the proletariat.

Not long after it was established, the Party branch discovered that some Party members had the idea of "a breathing spell" in face of the triumphant situation. They saw only the "sparks of welding in the workshop," but failed to see that the class enemy was trying to make a comeback. Some shifts and teams neglected the revolutionary mass criticism. In view of this state of affairs, the Party branch organized the Party members and the revolutionary masses to study Chairman Mao's teachings concerning classes and class struggle, to study the thesis of "four things in existence" in the new Party constitution, and to strongly criticize the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and "theory of intra-Party peace." It guided everyone to seriously analyze the new characteristics and new trends of the class struggle under the new situation. Said some comrades: "Our concept of the class struggle is still very weak. We have an inadequate understanding of the protractedness of the struggle. The string of class struggle in our minds is sometimes pulled tight and sometimes loose. We have not persisted to the end. We should not forget the class struggle."

On the basis of heightened understanding, the Party branch firmly cracked down on the criminal activities of the class enemy in sabotaging the dictatorship of the proletariat and undermining the economic foundation of socialism. It has given special attention to carrying on the class struggle while production is being attended to. The hoisting team, under the leadership of its Party-member leader, proposed to undertake the task of transporting all finished products of the entire workshop to the warehouse simultaneously with fulfilling the hoisting task of the workshop. But this task required close cooperation from the mechanics team. At that very moment, a bad element jumped out and tried to dissuade the comrades of the mechanics team by saying, "The leader of the hoisting team wants to show off and win fame for himself. If we do what he says, we will suffer." The Party members of the two teams, from the viewpoint of class struggle, saw through the scheme of this wicked element to sabotage unity and disrupt production, and mobilized the revolutionary masses of the two teams to expose and criticize him. Through this struggle, the militant unity of these two brotherly teams was further strengthened and their socialist activism further aroused. They said, "We must do what the enemy opposes, and to the end!" They not only undertook the task of bringing the finished products of the entire workshop to the warehouse, but they also proposed to undertake the hoisting task for the whole plant.

At one time, a few young workers were so affected by anarchism that they exhibited some other unhealthy sentiments. Aware that the class enemy was using the ideological weakness of young people to spread poison and to seize successors from the proletariat, the Party branch carried out education for the young people by holding study classes, organizing activities of recalling the bitter past and comparing it with the present happy life, and visiting class education exhibitions. It led the Party members and old workers to take the lead in four fields: politics, ideology, working style, and technology. It unleashed revolutionary mass criticism against bourgeois ideology and all sorts of evil practices. As education in this respect was carried out in time, the class consciousness of the young people was considerably raised and there was a marked change in their mentality. Learning from old workers, they wanted to make progress politically and vied with each other in doing the filthy and heavy jobs, going wherever there were difficulties to be tackled. Recently, League members and young people of the whole workshop, led by a member of the Party branch committee as well as guided by the old workers, and giving full play to their socialist activism and initiative, used their spare time to make three boilers.

When leading the broad masses to fight against the class enemy, the Party branch has also turned serious attention to eliminating the mistaken ideas within the Party. It regularly launches criticism and self-criticism, guiding the Party members to fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism, to continue to eradicate the lingering poison of the black "Cultivation" and the black "six theories," and to establish the proletarian world outlook. Some Party members had made mistakes either because they were deceived by the class enemy or because they were poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of merging of public and private interests." In view of this, the Party branch promptly organized the Party members and the masses to criticize and help these erring Party members in order to enable them to raise their understanding, correct their mistakes and take part in the battle more energetically.

As the Party branch has always kept in mind the class struggle and adhered strictly to the basic orientation, the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses have continued to increase their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. As a result, the moment the sabotage plot of the class enemy appears, it is rebuffed. Bourgeois evil practice are criticized as soon as they emerge. The political atmosphere in the whole workshop is very thick, and advanced deeds in the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought appear in an endless stream.

Use Revolution to Command Production, and Temper the Revolutionary Spirit of Party Members

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that politics is the commander and the soul and that "political work is the lifeline of all economic work" and holding high the great banner of the "Anshan Steel Works' Charter," the Party branch uses revolution to command production, and

mobilizes the masses freely. In the course of grasping revolution and promoting production, it trains the Party members and the broad masses to be infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and to acquire the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

When organizing production, the Party branch makes creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, puts proletarian politics to the fore, and explains the current situation as well as the tasks. With revolutionary mass criticism paving the way, it has crushed Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on enterprise operation. Both the Party members and the broad masses have clearly seen that brilliantly fulfilling every production task is of vital significance to the entire socialist construction and to safeguarding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and have brought their socialism activism into fuller play.

In the wake of the development of production, the Plant needed an additional large-sized hydraulic machine. Should it ask the State to supply one or should it make one by itself? Some comrades felt that a very high demand was made on the degree of precision of the hydraulic machine and the work of processing was complex and difficult, and they had neither the data nor the equipment needed for the production of such a machine. Consequently they did not have sufficient confidence in their ability to produce one.

First of all the Party branch organized everyone to study Chairman Mao's great policy of "independence and keeping the initiative in our hands and achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance" and strongly criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's "foreign slave philosophy" and "doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace," thereby whipping up a revolutionary fever. It was unanimously agreed that with Mao Tsetung thought any difficulty could be solved and any miracle on earth could be performed. They were determined not to ask for the ready-made. They did not want to be "dependent on foreigners" and smashed the "foreign conventions." They were resolved to take the road of self-reliance. Since they had no cast steel production, they used the method of "ants gnawing at the bones" and used automatic welders to carry out welding at many layers. And as they had no heat-reducing oven, they used the indigenous method to achieve it. Everyone of them regarded the production of this machine as a battle against imperialism and social-imperialism. There was a new Party member who often demanded of himself by the standard of the proletarian vanguard fighter. In this battle, he worked with the day and the night shifts, and sometimes he had no sleep for several days and nights, and kept on working at the frontline. There was an old worker who, in order to solve the problem caused by the changed shape of welding, carried on research for several nights. In the course of welding, he ate and slept in the workshop and finally overcame this hurdle.

In coordination with the production struggle, the Party branch has continued to educate the Party members and the masses in the great goal of communism, so that while doing their own specific duties, they will take the whole situation into account, look at the world, and consciously link the fulfillment of production tasks wtih the realization of communism. Not long ago, this workshop received an order for boilers used for ancillary

equipment of a pivotal project. Quick delivery and good quality were demanded. With the proletarian revolutionary spirit, the Party members and the revolutionary masses went into action, taking the fulfillment of every task as an offering of loyalty to Chairman Mao. The Party members' spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death moved the masses. A Party member worked so hard in the shock operation of packing that he lost much weight and his eyes became blood-shot. When others persuaded him to pay attention to his health, he said, "A Party member pledges to dedicate his life to the struggle for communism, and should not be afraid of losing some weight for the sake of the revolution!" Inspired by the great goal of communism, they fulfilled in only half a month a task which should have taken half a year to complete in the past.

The radiant flowers of ideology and politics will surely bear solid economic fruit. In the course of production the Party branch, putting proletarian politics to the fore, arms the Party members and the broad masses with the invincible Mao Tsetung thought. Every one is exerting himself and breaking the conservative ideas of "production has peaked" and "potentials have been fully tapped." A mass technical innovation movement was set in motion. Its production plan for the first half of this year was completed one month and three days ahead of schedule. This, plus the production of self-made equipment and basic construction, doubled the output for the first half of 1969--the year of the highest annual output since the Plant was built.

A Revolutionized Leading Group with Close Ties with the Masses

The chief reason why this Party branch shows vigor and vitality in the course of grasping revolution and promoting production is its striving to create a revolutionized group according to Mao Tsetung thought. In strengthening the ideological revolutionization of the committee of the Party branch committee, it has grasped three links:

1. It has given full play to the role of veteran cadres and devoted close attention to the training and bold use of an enthusiastic assistance to the new cadres. In the course of Party consolidation, the secretary of the Party branch strongly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line which had done harm to him, and laid down the airs. Now he is putting proletarian politics to the fore and, like an ordinary laborer, takes the initiative to go to the teams which had the most complaints about him in the past, to work with them. In the course of grasping revolution and promoting production, he leads boldly and takes the lead in every respect. Said the worker-comrades, "Our Party branch secretary has changed. He has dropped the 'official' hat and put on the welder's cap. He is stained with grease and has the masses in his heart. He is indeed our good leader."

Of the seven members of the Party branch committee, five have newly emerged from the great cultural revolution. These comrades have vigor and energy, but lack methods of work. The veteran cadres often help them to

study Chairman Mao's teachings pertinent to the qualifications of revolutionary successors, the methods of work, and the five tasks of basic-level organization laid down in the new Party constitution, and boldly let them weather the storm and see the world in the course of the three major revolutions--the class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experimentation. Confronted with difficulties, these new cadres are helped to think out ways of solving them. The old cadres also take the initiative to help these new cadres patiently to correct their shortcomings and mistakes, and bear the responsibility for these shortcomings and mistakes. A new member of the Party branch committee dared not work boldly in the past because he thought he was incapable of leadership as he was young and inexperienced. But with the help of the old cadres and old workers, he sternly fought his "self-interest," cast away "fear," and replaced it with "courage." He perseveringly puts proletarian politics to the fore and takes the heavy burden in every respect. As a result, the old workers described him as "a really good revolutionary successor." In the Party branch committee heart-stirring scenes have appeared in which old cadres cherish the new, the new cadres respect the old, and the new and old cadres learn from each other, trust each other, help and support each other. This enables the Party branch committee to become a united and militant collective, continuously raising its level of ideological revolutionization.

2. It perseveres in "four non-alienations" and "four taking-lead." In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "the fundamental requirement for the Communist Party is direct reliance on the broad masses of the revolutionary people," the Party branch committee has gone deep into reality and maintained close ties with the masses. Committee members actively participate in productive labor and run ahead of the masses in doing everything. All members of the Party branch committee go to the teams to work with them, to carry out investigations and research, and hold consultation meetings whenever problems arise. They discover and solve problems on the spot. They also conduct house-to-house interviews to help the masses to solve problems affecting their thinking and livelihood. Except where special circumstances arise, they insist on "holding meetings during leisure hours" in ordinary times, and work with the teams during working hours. They take the lead in: creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, breaking self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest, carrying out revolutionary mass criticism, and grasping revolution and promoting production. There was a member of the Party branch committee who, since he became a cadre, has never put down his work clothes or work gloves, and is always full of sweat and stained with grease. The masses call him "an ox for the revolution."

3. The Party branch insists on collective leadership of its committee and actively develops ideological struggle. Major problems are discussed and decided upon collectively. They observe the system whereby they meet twice every day, before and after work, so as to have timely exchange of ideas and information. They put problems on the table and use Mao Tsetung thought to analyze and solve contradictions. As a result of this, the Party branch committee has realized the "five unities" on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought and played its role of hardcore leadership.

Since this Party branch was established, definite achievements have been made in work in various fields. In their view, these achievements should primarily be attributed to Chairman Mao and to the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader. However, there are still many shortcomings in work, and wide gaps exist between it and brotherly units. They say that from now on they will further use Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to arm the Party members and the broad masses so that they will preserve the style of humility, prudence, non-conceit and non-rashness. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on Party building, the Party branch will be built into a more vigorous fighting fortress.

Investigation Team of CCP Committee
at Peking Boiler Plant

* * *

Forever Maintain Close Contacts with the Masses

by

The Party branch of the "Cherishing-the-People Model Company" of a certain PLA Unit in Canton

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

The great supreme commander Chairman Mao is the founder and leader of our army. At the early stage the army was founded, Chairman Mao formulated the great Party-building and army-building program--the resolution of the Kut'ien Conference. Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations." This was the basic task of our army as well as our basic direction in army building. In accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent army-building thinking, the 1960 resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission pointed out: "Our army is always a fighting force and is at the same time a work force, the defender of socialism as well as the builder of socialism. We must stand firmly with the people and maintain close contacts with the masses of the people." Supporting the government and cherishing the people, maintaining close contacts with the masses--this is one of the hallmarks that distinguish our army from all the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, one of the basic distinctions between Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line and the bourgeois military line.

From the people, for the people and in the service of the people, our People's Liberation Army is made up of the children of workers and peasants. Our relationship with the masses of the people is a flesh-and-blood one, the interdependent relationship of fish and water. Alienated from the masses, the people's army cannot exist, nor can it fight, nor can it grow strong. Historical experience shows when the people's army firmly relies on the masses, it is ever victorious and all-conquering and is invincible in the world.

To maintain contacts with the masses or to be divorced from masses--this has always been an important aspect of the struggle between the two army-building lines, and this struggle is even more acute during the period of socialist revolution. On the eve of nationwide victory, the great leader Chairman Mao told the whole Party and the whole army to be on the alert, saying: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") Chairman Mao exhorted us not to become arrogant because of our meritorious service and not to divorce ourselves from the masses.

However, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and the counter-revolutionary revisionists such as P'eng Te-huai frenziedly carried out the bourgeois military line, maliciously crammed the proletarian army with revisionist contrabands, and talked nonsense, saying that the combination of the army with the people "is already out of date."

The "theory that the combination of the army with people is out of date" was essentially a reprint of the "purely military viewpoint" that Chairman Mao had long ago deeply criticized and repudiated in the resolution of the Kut'ien Conference. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao pointed out: "If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership--it would be to take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army." Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Te-huai and their like were opposed to our army maintaining close contacts with the masses and doing mass work because they vainly attempted to change the nature of the people's army and transform it into their tool for restoring capitalism.

During the violent struggle between the two army-building lines, we constantly organized the cadres and fighters to study conscientiously the two "resolutions." By way of comparing the two kinds of society and the two kinds of army, the cadres and fighters were educated with the fine traditions of our army and sent to receive class education among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Everybody was given to understand that although we were workers and soldiers in uniform, we must "stand firmly with the Chinese people and serve them wholeheartedly" ("On Coalition Government"). At ordinary times, although our various tasks were rather heavy, yet we still persisted in finding time to do mass work, and we utilized our rest time to help the masses do manual work. The ideas and sentiments of the worker-peasant masses struck deep root in the minds of the cadres and the fighters, and everybody was able at all times to think of the people, do everything for the people and regard the interests of the people as more important than anything else.

In a battle to put out a bush fire on one occasion, the comrades of the whole company firmly bore in mind Chairman Mao's teaching on "wholly" and "thoroughly" serving the people. They fought the raging fire heroically and doggedly with no fear of sacrifice, and many comrades refused to quit the battle although they were wounded. Deputy political officer Wang Yu-k'ang and fighters Hsü T'ung-yao, Ning Fu-lien and Wang Huan-chin heroically laid down their lives in the battle. The comrades of the whole company stepped into the breach of the fallen, and together with the broad masses, they finally extinguished the hill fire, thus protecting the lives and properties of the people and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The great leader Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin bestowed a very great honor on us by approving themselves the conferment of the title of "cherishing-the-people model company" on us by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. This was the brilliant result of our consistently adhering to the two "resolutions," a great victory for invincible Mao Tsetung thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line!

In the practice to implement the two "resolutions," we deeply came to understand that in order to maintain contacts with the masses, we must fight together with the masses for the construction and consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. The revolutionary political power is the right of the proletariat and the laboring people to live and exist. If we show no concern for the construction and consolidation of revolutionary political power, that means we do not feel concerned with the basic interests of the people and we are fundamentally divorced from the masses of the people.

It also took us a course of time to understand this question. After our company put out the hill fire for the people and was honored with the title of "cherishing-the-people model company," what should be done in order to show that we were not unworthy of the concern shown us by Chairman Mao and the expectations of the broad masses of the people, and to do a better job in supporting the government, cherishing the people and maintaining contacts with the masses? We organized the cadres and fighters to study in real earnest Chairman Mao's works, to recall what our army had gone through in fighting, and to go to the countryside in the vicinity to investigate the conditions of the class struggle.

The leadership of a production brigade was usurped by a handful of bad people, and they utilized their functions and powers to hit the poor and lower-middle peasants and engineer capitalist restoration on a large scale. The striking reality of the class struggle made us understand more deeply that the basic question of revolution is one of political power. Cherishing the people must be based on political power. Helping the masses to consolidate and reinforce the political power of the proletariat conforms to the basic interests of the people and is the important political task of our army in the socialist period. Divorced from this political task, maintaining contacts with the masses and cherishing the people is out of the question. After this truth was known, comrades consciously regarded the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basic task in maintaining contacts with the masses. Regardless of whether military training was given or work task was carried out, everybody was able to "show concern for politics and affairs of the state, the Party and the people" as was pointed out in the 1960 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, and link the work of his office with consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Braving the treacherous winds and waves, they went to the first line of "supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, giving military training and exercising military control" to wage tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemies.

A new fighter came to a production brigade to support agriculture, and a handful of class enemies openly intimidated him, saying: "You have joined the colors only a few days. Can you control the affairs of a brigade? You will be held responsible if problems arise!" But the fighter had his roots in the masses and he stood firm. Having nothing to fear because of the sun that was in his heart, he categorically replied: "To safeguard the power of the poor and lower-middle peasants, I must exercise control and hold myself responsible for the control to the end!" Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, he energetically grasped the class struggle, unearthed the

deeply entrenched class enemies and forcefully consolidated the red political power of this brigade.

In the past few years, our company carried out at different times the task of "supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, giving military training and exercising military control" in factories, rural areas and schools. At all times, we regarded the construction and consolidation of revolutionary political power as the fundamental task. We helped several dozen basic-level units set up revolutionary committees and enabled such red organs of political power to consolidate and develop themselves incessantly in the struggle. The contacts we maintained with the broad masses of the people were firmer and closer than any other time in the past.

Vice Chairman Lin instructed: "China is a big country with a population of 700 million and there must be unified thinking for the whole country. Unified with Mao Tsetung thought, unified action can then be taken." We have come to understand from practice that in order to consolidate further the proletarian dictatorship, it is imperative to launch the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. The use of Mao Tsetung thought to arm the broad masses of the people fundamentally assures that our socialist regime will never change color and is also our most important task in maintaining contacts with the masses.

In the past, whenever we came to a place, we always observed "no departure in three respects": No departure without sweeping clean the courtyard; no departure without filling the water containers; no departure without returning the things borrowed. This is of course a good style of maintaining contacts with the masses, but doing this alone is insufficient.

When we carried out construction work in a certain place, we hooked ourselves up with a production team in the vicinity and constantly went there to do manual work and help the production team solve some practical problems. When a gust of evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism was whipped up in society, some people of this production team wanted to abandon agriculture for commerce and take the capitalist road. This matter aroused our attention and made us understand that in maintaining contacts with the masses, the most important thing was to help the masses use Mao Tsetung thought to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie, revisionism, various kinds of old ideology and culture, old customs and habits of the exploiting classes, overcome the idea of private ownership in people's mind, thus enabling the broad masses of the people to persist in taking the socialist road. Only in this way could there be a fundamental link between us and the masses of the people, a link based on Mao Tsetung thought.

From then on, we at all times regarded the propaganda of Mao Tsetung thought as the most important task in maintaining contacts with the masses. Wherever we went and stayed, we made propaganda there. When we came to a place, we not only observed "no departure in three respects" but also accomplished first "down to the households in three respects": Sending Chairman Mao's works down to the households; publicizing Chairman Mao's latest

instructions down to the households; running study courses in Mao Tsetung thought down to the households.

As soon as Chairman Mao's latest instruction was published, we at once studied and publicized it and at once went into action. "Chairman Mao's latest instructions are studied and applied without exception. We respond to Chairman Mao's combat orders and stop at nothing." This was the steel-like pledge made by Wang Yu-k'ang and three other martyrs and was also the traditional work style that our company strove to uphold. Every time we publicized Chairman Mao's latest instruction to the broad masses, the latter always shouted together with us: Long live Chairman Mao! Closely follow Chairman Mao to carry out the revolution! "Long live Chairman Mao" represented the common wish of us and the broad masses, and "closely follow Chairman Mao to carry out the revolution" firmly linked us with the broad masses.

The resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission pointed out: "The uninterrupted revolution of society calls for uninterrupted revolution in people's thought." We have learned by experience that in order to maintain close contacts with the masses, we must forever uphold the modest and prudent work style, humbly learn from the masses of the people, continuously draw nourishment from among the masses, and transform our own world outlook according to the features of the proletarian vanguards before we can forever preserve our political youth and forever advance with revolutionary strides.

After our company extinguished the hill five for the people, the great leader Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin conferred on us a very high honor. In the past few years, as we carried out the task of supporting industry, agriculture and the Left, giving military training and exercising military control, we also carried out some work for the people. The broad masses warmly cherished and encouraged us. Under such circumstances, it was easy for us to engender the "live on old merits and claim new credit" idea. Consequently, whether or not we could handle ourselves by dividing one into two, put us and the masses in the proper positions and correctly handle the relationship between the driving force of the revolution and the object of the revolution was an important test for us under the new situation.

Our Party branch organized the cadres and fighters to study again and again Chairman Mao's teaching that "modesty enables one to make progress and arrogance causes people to become backward" and the two "resolutions." Everybody thus came to understand that the class struggle at home and abroad necessarily must be incessantly reflected within our army.

There is no crack which the bourgeois ideology will not crawl through. Counter-revolutionary revisionist P'eng Te-huai advocated that ditches be dug and a wall be built around the barracks in a vain attempt to divorce ourselves physically from the masses. The bourgeois ideology "dug ditches and built walls" in our minds in a vain attempt to alienate ourselves mentally from the masses. Consequently, we must criticize and repudiate P'eng Te-huai's bourgeois military line and must also eradicate the corrosive influence of the bourgeois ideology on us. We led the cadres and

fighters to study humbly the advanced personalities and advanced ideas among the masses in the struggle. We strengthened the influence of the proletarian ideology on us so that we might stay sober in front of victory and amid applause without slackening our fighting will and going astray politically. We strove to uphold forever without change the work style of maintaining close contacts with the masses despite the change of our environment, to uphold forever without change the attitude of regarding ourselves as the pupils of the masses despite the rise of our prestige, and to uphold forever without change the true color of the soldiers of worker and peasant origin by sharing weal and woe with the masses despite the improvement of our living conditions.

At the end of last year, as soon as we came to an iron and steel plant to support the Left, the revolutionary committee and the broad masses of workers of the plant warmly welcomed us and wanted to vacate a workers' hostel for us. In accordance with the instruction that "the fine tradition of our army in sharing weal and woe with the masses of the people should be brought into play" in the resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, we decided to stay in matsheds instead of the tall building, thus winning the warm support and encouragement of the broad masses. We developed a closer relationship with and a more profound feeling for the masses, and our thought of defending the power of the people became firmer. Our comrades declared: "Staying in matsheds is of great significance because leading the life of workers and peasants is thus perpetuated. With a red heart and a rifle, we vow to defend the country for the people!"

As we look back over the course of fighting our company has gone through, we are deeply aware that the two "resolutions" are the beacons showing the way for building the people's army. So long as we advance along the navigation route charted by these two "resolutions" we can be sure of victory. We are resolved to go further in bringing the fine tradition of our army into play, forever maintain close contacts with the masses, and fight for the building of a proletarian company that is more revolutionized and militant!

* * *

Red Detachment of Women

- Revised collectively by China Ballet Troupe

(The 1970 May Script)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Principal Characters

Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing	male, Party representative in the Women's Company
Wu Ch'ing-hua	female, fighter in the Women's Company, later Party representative
Company commander	female, commander of the Women's Company
Little P'ang	male, Red Army messenger
Nan Pa-t'ien	male, tyrannical landlord, chief commander of the counter-revolutionary "civilian corps" [landlords' mercenaries]
Lao Ssu	male, Nan's lieutenant, leader of mercenaries

PROLOGUE

(The ten-year civil war period. Hainan Island. Night. A crude dungeon of tyrannical landlord Nan Pa-t'ien. Curtain rises.)

Wu Ch'ing-hua, daughter of a poor peasant, is tied, suspended on a big pillar. Unwilling to be a bondmaid, a slave, she has attempted to run away several times but in vain. Now she is badly beaten up, her body covered with lacerated wounds. She raises her head and expands her chest though, her eyes burning with hatred. She wishes she could have smashed her chains to pieces and broken this man-eating dungeon!

With her in the dungeon are two innocent working women beaten and locked up. They are there just because they can't pay their rents to Nan. Their clenched fists tell what a deep hatred they cherish in their hearts.

(The two dance.)

Henchman Lao Ssu enters with a mercenary. He has orders from Nan to take Ch'ing-hua out and sell her.

Lao Ssu unties Ch'ing-hua from her chains. Ignoring her pains and with profound class sentiments, she dashes to the side of her two dungeon mates and encourages them to struggle against Nan through to the end.

Lao Ssu comes over. Angrily cracking his leather whip, he pushes Ch'ing-hua toward the door of the dungeon.

Catching Lao Ssu unaware, Ch'ing-hua snatches the whip and kicks him to the ground. (She stands erect at the door of the dungeon, raising one leg in the shape of "a bow" and stretching her two strong arms. She angrily stares at Lao Ssu, in a "dramatic pose.")

Lao Ssu gets up and gives chase. The two women prisoners dash over and pull Lao Ssu and the mercenary back.

Ch'ing-hua looks at the two prisoners with anxiety, but they urge her to leave quickly. With resolve she marches out of the tiger's lair.

ACT ONE

(Late at night. All is pitch dark in a grove of cocoanut palms. Gleams of lanterns over the "Nan Manor" twinkle through the grove.)

Lao Ssu and his gang, carrying whips and ropes, are searching for Ch'ing-hua, rushing about like wild dogs. Desperate, Lao Ssu orders his mercenaries to scatter in their search.

(Lao Ssu and his gang dance.)

Ch'ing-hua is hiding behind a palm tree. When she sees the gang depart, she quickly emerges. (She makes a "dramatic" pose, leaping with her two legs wide apart in the shape of a bow and then standing on her toes.)

(Ch'ing-hua's solo dance:-)

She breaks out in big strides and rushes forward (in rapid "tip-toe steps," "leaps with two legs apart" and "swoops down"). She brushes aside the undergrowth with her hands and vigilantly surveys the scene around her. She quickly runs toward the deep cocoanut grove. The enemy's search arouses greater hatred in her and makes her determined thus: to run away if they couldn't catch me and fight if they got me; I would rather die than remain a slave! (She "spins on her toes", then "spins with one leg up," "bends deep" and then "leaps with one leg up to the level of her head.")

Suddenly she discovers the mercenaries coming toward her. She swiftly hides herself behind a tree.

Two mercenaries surreptitiously walk past searching.

Ch'ing-hua skillfully evades them. Unexpectedly the sly Lao Ssu leaps out of the darkness and savagely pounces on her. She fights him desperately.

(Ch'ing-hua and Lao Ssu dance in a fight:-)

Ch'ing-hua leaps up from the ground and breaks free. She kicks Lao Ssu violently. He hurriedly leaps to one side. She turns and flees. Lao Ssu chases and grabs her left arm. She angrily seizes him. The two are locked in battle. (The two "with legs crossed spin around, pulling each other.")

Ch'ing-hua frees herself. Lao Ssu charges toward her. She struggles desperately. ("Leaping, her legs stretching in one line," "holding together," "leaping in the shape of a pair of scissors," "suspending her waist," and "dramatic pose.") Lao Ssu growls: "Go back with me!" Ch'ing-hua angrily shakes her head: "I would rather die than go back!" Lao Ssu is exhausted. Ch'ing-hua, more courageous than ever, grabs him on the shoulder, bites him fiercely, and kicks him to the ground.

Ch'ing-hua turns on her heels and runs. But she is caught up with and surrounded by the rest of the gang, and she falls into the devil's hands again.

Nan Pa-t'ien enters hurriedly with mercenaries and bondmaids. Seeing Ch'ing-hua is such a stubborn creature, bandit Nan is in a fit of rage. He savagely hits her on the forehead with his stick. She refuses to bow her head. He raises his stick and beats her again. She grabs the stick, determined to fight him to the death. (She "spins and gets up.") Nan is so angry he trembles. He orders the mercenaries to drag her to one side, roaring wildly: "Kill her!"

The sound of whipping can be heard. The bondmaids, sharing Ch'ing-hua's fate and hatred, are burning with hatred in their hearts. They watch Ch'ing-hua with deep concern. They feel as if they are being whipped too. How they hope they could help their class sister get out of danger!

(The bondmaids dance.)

Nan, determined to kill one in order to warn the hundred, orders Ch'ing-hua to be dragged over and beaten to death in the presence of the crowd.

Ch'ing-hua refuses to yield, though blows fall on her like rain drops. (She "bends low and turns.") She expands her chest and raises her fists until she sinks into unconsciousness.

Lao Ssu reports that Ch'ing-hua is dead. Nan threatens the bondmaids fiercely: "If anyone of you dares to run away again or dares to resist anymore, this will be your end!"

Thunder rumbles, rain is about to pour down. Nan hurriedly departs with his entourage. The bondmaids with deep sorrow dash over to Ch'ing-hua's body only to be driven away by the mercenaries.

Lightning flashes and thunder rumbles. The violent wind and rain shake the cocoanut palms.

In the midst of the drenching rain Ch'ing-hua slowly comes to.

(Ch'ing-hua in a solo dance:-)

Suffering from sharp pain of her wounds, hunger and cold, where can she go in a pitch dark night? Where is her shelter in this thick grove of cocoanut palms? (She "walks on her tip-toes.") Is there no road to life for the oppressed slaves? She staggers along forward, forward.... Unable to bear the pain from her wounds, she again faints and sinks to the ground.

The rain is over, the day breaks. Rays of sunshine stream through the forest.

Huang Ch'ang-ch'ing, a Red Army cadre, and his messenger Little P'ang enter, disguised as peasants. They are on a scout mission.

(Hung and P'ang dance together:-)

Hung is in high spirits, cool, and alert. A rain-hat in hand, he advances, surveying the scene ahead of him. (He "takes a few quick steps," bends his body to one side and looks ahead. He turns around in a "dramatic pose.") With sharp eyes, he deftly looks around him. (Swiftly he "leaps forward," "walks in cross steps," takes a step forward and turns around" in a "dramatic pose.")

Suddenly they discover Ch'ing-hua lying unconscious on the ground. They rush over to her and help her to get up. She slowly regains consciousness. When she sees two strangers in front of her, she immediately struggles free and runs.

Hung and P'ang call after her anxiously: "Don't be afraid. We are poor people like you!"

She feels dizzy and almost stumbles to the ground. Hung hastens forward to help her. He is shocked to see the wounds and blood on her arms. He takes off his towel and carefully cleans her wounds.

The sight of these wounds causes Hung to burn with class hatred in his heart: "Who has battered you like this?!"

Hung's sincerity erases Ch'ing-hua's suspicion. Angrily pointing at the direction where bandit Nan has departed, she says: "Nan Pa-t'ien, the cold-blood murderer!"

"Nan Pa-t'ien!" Hung and P'ang cannot suppress their anger: "This evil killer! We'll ask him to pay back the blood debts!"

Hung asks Ch'ing-hua with concern: "Where are you going? Where is your home?"

"Home? I have no home...."

Standing in front of this daughter of a poor peasant who has suffered so much, Hung, filled with profound proletarian class feeling, points ahead with his fingers and says to Ch'ing-hua: "When we get out of the cocoanut grove and cross the big mountain, we will see red flags fluttering and the sun shining! There we have our own contingents of workers and peasants. When you go there, you'll be able to become a fighter and avenge yourself!"

Ch'ing-hua, with wounds all over her body, becomes very excited. She says emotionally: "Even though there may be thousands of dangers and difficulties, I'll take this road!"

(Hung, Ch'ing-hua and P'ang dance:-)

Hung and P'ang leap, raising their fists. This arouses Ch'ing-hua (who "leaps"). She is tremendously encouraged ("standing like a crane and spinning around").

In the brilliant rays of the morning glow, Hung warmly points out for Ch'ing-hua the revolutionary road. (Hung, Ch'ing-hua and P'ang "pose.")

Hung takes out two silver coins from his pocket and hands them to Ch'ing-hua: "Take them. You may need them on the road."

Silver coins! Ch'ing-hua looks at Hung, stunned. (She stands up suddenly on her toes.)

Wu Ch'ing-hua, oh, Wu Ch'ing-hua, you are the shoot that sprouts from under a rock. You are raised in the bitter water. You've been a beast of burden from childhood. You have never seen your next of kin or been to your home! (Emotionally she retreats in "quick steps.")

"These, these for me?...."

Hung nods his head sincerely: "Yes, for you!"

Ch'ing-hua doesn't know what to do. Tears flood her eyes. She looks at Hung fixedly, full of heart-felt gratitude.

My hands are too small to hold this deep friendship!

Ch'ing-hua wipes her hands on her chest and, trembling, takes the coins. She emotionally bows to Hung and dashes forward in the direction pointed out by him.

Hung and P'ang follow her with their eyes until she fades out of sight. They vigilantly turn around, survey the forest and continue their scout mission ("dramatic pose").

- Curtain

ACT TWO

("Song of the Women's Company" is sung in strong and clear voices:

Forward, forward!
The fighters' responsibility is heavy, the women's grief deep.
Break the chains, make revolution!
For the people we women soldiers carry the gun.
Forward, forward!
The fighters' responsibility is heavy, the women's grief deep.
Communism is the truth, the Party is the leader.
Slaves must liberate themselves, slaves must liberate themselves!
Forward, forward!....

(Morning, a few days later. The square of a Red base.

(The curtain rises: The vast sky is clear, dotted with white clouds. Colored pennants flutter gaily and the sound of singing is loud and clear. The tall tree with red flowers is in full bloom. Under the trees is a scene of joy. The villagers in the base area - old people, children, Red Guard members, women of the Li nationality - are celebrating the birth of a "Red Company of Women.")

(A collective dance.)

(Song of the "Red Company of Women" is sung again.)

Fighters of the Red Company of Women are in high spirits. Led by the Party representative Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and the company commander, they march into the square. The villagers are overwhelmed with joy and the children dance and leap freely. Thunderous applause echoes in the square.

Hung and the company commander solemnly proclaim the formation of the Red Women's Detachment of the Chinese workers' and Peasants' Red Army!

The company commander gives the order for drilling. The fighters, holding rifles and in high spirits ("tip-toe steps") and led by the company commander, are carrying out the drills.

(Collective dance in markmanship.)

Hung proudly and forcefully brandishes his big sword demonstrating the fearless, heroic spirit of the revolutionary soldiers.

(Hung's sword dance:-)

He marches forward in big and steady strides. (He dances with the sword and raises it high in a "dramatic pose.") He leaps into the air in

heroic fashion. ("He leaps high as if he were shooting a goose," "putting the sword on his back and kicking with his feet," "leaping in a swallow's style," "limping in small steps," "drawing his legs together," and then chopping in a "dramatic pose.")

The fighters, following suit, brandish their swords and leap back and forth and sidewise. The swords flashing, the shouting of "kill, kill" shakes the heaven.

(Collective sword dance by women fighters.)

The women fighters swiftly and vigorously practice handgrenade throwing.

The fighters, heroically and firmly gripping their rifles, charge with their bayonets. The drills come to a close amid the shouting of "kill, kill, kill" and in an atmosphere full of class hatred.

(Collective dance--charge with bayonet, by the fighters.)

Five robust Red Guard members step out of the crowd, and begin to dance with five-inch daggers. Their prowess and resourcesfulness give expression to the might of the people's armed forces.

(Dagger dance by Red Guard members.)

The army and people are united in heart. The feeling of the crowds is agitated. The children dance in the act of overthrowing Nan Pa-t'ien. The square is turned into an ocean of festivity.

(Grand collective dance.)

Suddenly, a member of the children's corps who is on sentry duty, comes along telling everyone that there comes a woman from Cocoanut Palms Village.

She is here! Hurry! Wu Ch'ing-hua, who has suffered so much, has hastened to the scene, staggeringly. Everyone concernedly closes in around her and helps her get up. A member of the children's corps tells her: "This is a Red base. See the Red Flag!"

The Red Flag! Ch'ing-hua is aroused beyond description at the sight of a red flag fluttering in the wind. She dashes to it and holds it closely to her face. Unable to keep hot tears rolling down her cheeks, she says: "Red Flag, oh, Red Flag, I've found you today!...."

The fighters and the villagers surround her. Excitedly, she looks at the women fighters in their new uniforms, their red cap insignia, red collar badges, red arm bands.... She anxiously shakes hands with the fighters: "I, too, want to be a soldier!"

Hung, the company commander, and P'ang rush to the scene on hearing the news. Instantly Ch'ing-hua recognizes her savior. She is infinitely aroused. Hung affectionately and warmly introduces her to the company commander and the villagers: "This class sister has suffered much already. She almost died in breaking out of the dark Cocoanut Palms Village."

Upon hearing this, the soldiers and people step forward one after another and extend a warm welcome to her.

The company commander hands her a bowl of cocoanut milk, which drains her profound class feeling! For the past ten years and more, who had regarded her as a human but a bondmaid and slave? And now, when she has arrived at a place under the Red Flag, the sun is so warm and the people are so affable! Holding the bowl of cocoanut milk with her hands, she empties it excitedly in one gulp.

Suddenly the company commander discovers the scars on her arms and concernedly asks her about her past. At this instant, memories of generations of deep hatred flood her heart, and she tells them the towering crimes of Nan Pa-t'ien.

(Ch'ing-hua in solo dance:-)

She abruptly pulls up her sleeves, revealing the bloody scars. ("She bends her body to one side to touch her leg," "spreads her hands, squats and spins," and "turns her back and walks on her knees") She tells the way she was tortured in Nan's dungeon. (She "takes a step by the side," turns around "and stands up on her toes," to "pose" the way how she was suspended in a chain.") She tells how she was beaten up by Bandit Nan and fainted in the grove. (She "bends low and then straightens up her back," angrily makes a "dramatic pose.")

Hung uses Ch'ing-hua's generations of suffering to teach the soldiers and villagers: "Wu Ch'ing-hua's sufferings are our sufferings; her hatred is our hatred. Oppressed slaves must liberate themselves. Only by taking up guns and following Chairman Mao and the Communist Party to wage revolution will it be possible to create a new world and set free the millions of people in suffering!" (He "leaps in the air," "spins in the air," and waves his hands in a "dramatic pose.") The crowd is agitated. They hold high the huge banners bearing the words "Strike at the local gentry and distribute their land" and "catch Nan Pa-t'ien alive." They are determined to destroy Nan Pa-t'ien and set the Cocoanut Palm Village free.

Hung and the company commander comply with Ch'ing-hua's request and allow her to join the army. The company commander hands her a rifle.

Ch'ing-hua excitedly takes the gun. She raises her head high and expands her chest. She has joined the fighting ranks of the Red Women's Detachment.

- Curtain

ACT THREE

(Dusk. The courtyard of Nan Pa-t'ien's manor. The curtain rises.)

Nan is holding a birthday party. Commotion reigns outside his manor. The mercenaries, carrying wine, meat and jewels given as gifts and driving along girls of the Li nationality whom they have caught, walk across the stage noisily. Local despots, gentry and Kuomintang bureaucrats arrive in a drove to pay their respects.

Bandit Nan comes out to the hall to greet the guests. The local despots and Kuomintang bureaucrats one after another offer their gifts and congratulations. Pleased, Bandit Nan invites the guests to sit at the tables.

Bandit Nan's wife asks the bondmaids to bring fruit and sweets for the guests.

(Dance by bondmaids.)

The mercenary soldiers, brandishing the whips, force the Li girls they had caught to dance in front of the party. The Li girls, filled with hatred for bandit Nan and this group of local despots and gentry, reluctantly rise and dance.

(Li nationality dance.)

A mercenary soldier runs on, and hands Nan a greeting card. He says: "A honorable guest has arrived." Reading from the card, Bandit Nan learns that the guest is a wealthy overseas merchant. But the guest is a stranger who is unexpected. The local despots discuss this among themselves but are unable to find out who the person is. A greedy man, Nan does not want to miss this good opportunity. He orders the mercenaries to spruce up and form ranks to welcome the honorable guest.

The "honorable guest" is none other than Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, the Party representative in the Women's Company. As a result of a few days' scouting, he has drawn up an operational plan: Taking advantage of Bandit Nan's birthday feast, he is to mix himself with the other guests disguising himself as a wealthy overseas Chinese merchant. Taking along P'ang and a number of fighters, he is to enter the tiger's lair. At midnight, with gunfire as the signal, they will strike from within in response to the large group of Red Army men from without in an attempt to destroy Nan and his gang at one swoop.

Hung takes on an appearance of ease and a rich man's airs. He walks into the courtyard arrogantly (in a heroic "dramatic pose").

Bandit Nan hurriedly comes forward to greet him. Hung orders his "servants" to offer the gift. Pleased by the gift, Nan humbly invites Hung to join him at the table.

To show the power he wields, Nan orders Lao Ssu to lead the mercenaries to perform a military dance.

(Saber dance by the mercenaries. Lao Ssu performs a boxing dance.)

Hung flings a purse of silver coins at the mercenaries as a reward. The mercenaries scramble for them, showing their greed. Embarrassed, Nan invites Hung to go into the hall for dinner.

At midnight, a tense atmosphere descends on the Nan manor.

Ch'ing-hua and a woman fighter disguise themselves as bondmaids and sneak into the bandit's lair to make contact with P'ang. Having disposed of the enemy sentries at the door, they carefully observe the scene around them. Ch'ing-hua explains the terrain to her fellow fighter.

Suddenly the sound of running footsteps approaches. Ch'ing-hua and her comrade-in-arms turn around quickly and take cover behind a rockery.

Two mercenaries seize and beat a fleeing bondmaid. The bondmaid faints and falls to the ground. The mercenaries carry her off.

(Dance by the mercenaries and the bondmaid.)

This scene arouses Ch'ing-hua's anger. She wants to dash over to save the class sister in danger. (She "dances in the wind," "leaps in the form of a pair of scissors," and "leaps, two legs form one line.") The woman comrade-in-arms quickly stops her.

In the darkness, P'ang alertly comes over and makes contact with Ch'ing-hua with a password. (He "leaps in the air and spins, his arms wide open.")

(P'ang in solo dance.)

Ch'ing-hua comes forward on hearing the sound. P'ang says to her: "The enemy's situation has not changed and things will proceed as planned. We have only to wait for Comrade Hung to fire his gun before we move. P'ang quickly goes back into the house.

Noise comes from the hall. Bandit Nan goes to the door to see the guests off.

The sight of Nan revives Ch'ing-hua's memory of deep hatred. She has only one idea: "Kill Nan for revenge! Revenge! Revenge!"

(Ch'ing-hua and her comrade-in-arms in a duet dance:-)

Ch'ing-hua breaks free from her comrade-in-arms and dashes forward. (She "raises one leg to the level of her head" and "spins.")

Her comrade-in-arms hurriedly stops her. Ch'ing-hua cannot hold her anger down. (She "bends low," "spreads her hands in the wind".) She breaks free from her comrade-in-arms, turns around abruptly and fires two shots, wounding Bandit Nan. The combat signal is prematurely fired.

The bandits are shocked and come out in a drove. The comrade-in-arms hurriedly drags Ch'ing-hua to take cover in another place.

Shots are fired all round. The Red Army unit is launching an encircling attack against the bandit stronghold. Frightened and wounded, Nan hurriedly flees with Lao Ssu through the tunnel.

Hung dashes out of the hall and calmly deals with the emergency. Making a quick decision, he orders P'ang and others to shoot and kill the mercenaries, so the big group of Red Army men may storm into the bandit stronghold.

The bandits are put to rout.

Banners of victory fluttering, the villagers, tears in their eyes, come along. Hung and the company commander tell the villagers: "Nan Pa-t'ien's granary has been stormed open. These stocks of grain are the fruit of the blood and sweat of us poor people. Let's distribute them right now." The crowd cheers and heads for the granary.

P'ang, carrying Bandit Nan's stick, appears and reports: "All the bandits, big and small, have been killed. But we couldn't find Bandit Nan and Lao Ssu." Hurriedly the company commander goes off with P'ang to the backyard to make a search.

The villagers, who now have their share of grain, are overjoyed. Hung, holding high a basket of grain, warmly and affectionately delivers grain to an old poor peasant. Holding the grain precious as gold, the villagers hail aloud time and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Thanks to the Red Army of Workers and Peasants!"

(Dance by the crowds in the act of distributing grain.)

The company commander and P'ang emerge from the backyard with an old local despot whom they have caught. Pressed by Hung, the local despot despairingly tells about Nan's tunnel.

The news of Nan's escape leaves Ch'ing-hua both anxious and hateful. Carrying her gun, she runs toward the tunnel. Hung blocks her off.

Because Ch'ing-hua has violated discipline, the company commander severely reprimands her and disarms her of her gun. Ch'ing-hua is in dismay.

Affectionately Hung walks over to Ch'ing-hua and concernedly asks her about what had truly happened.

- Curtain

ACT FOUR

(Early morning, the sky is aglow with sunrise.
A Red Army camp, by the bank of the Wanchuan River.
The curtain rises.)

On a blackboard hanging under a cocoanut tree these words loom large: "Only by liberating all mankind can the proletariat truly liberate itself." Hung is conducting a political class for the Women's Company.

(Hung in a solo dance:-)

He resolutely and proudly waves his arms and points his fingers at the far distance, indicating the long-range goal of the proletarian revolution and the heavy responsibility of the revolutionary fighter. He teaches the fighters: To make revolution is definitely not for personal revenge, but for the revolutionary ideal of freeing the whole mankind! (He "moves, raises one leg and spins in the air," "swoops," "raises the other leg and spins," and makes a "dramatic pose.")

The truth of the revolution, like the sunshine, illuminates the hearts of the fighters. Hung stands erect in front of the ranks, encouraging the fighters to unite closely under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party to form a revolutionary torrent which will crush the entire old world.

When the class is over, Ch'ing-hua remains behind. She turns her head and looks at the big characters on the blackboard. Slowly she walks toward the tree stump and sits down.

(Ch'ing-hua in solo dance:-)

She gets up slowly, the tide of thought rising in her heart. She seriously goes over the truth of the revolution as explained by the Party representative. (She "walks on her tip-toes" and squats in the manner of shooting a wild goose.")

She regretfully recalls the mistake she has made when she opened fire without authorization in the battle in the Cocoanut Palm Village: "Which proletarian in the world does not have hatred deep as the sea? Why should I think of only having personal vengeance?" (She changes "pattern" by rapid tip-toe steps, in a reconstruction of the scene in which she shot at Bandit Nan.)

Ch'ing-hua goes before the blackboard and fixes her eyes on it. At that point, she becomes enlightened. (She turns around with force, "leaps in the air," "stands like a crane," and "bends low as if to salvage something in the sea.") In face of the rising sun, she marches forward in firm steps. Raising her arms and holding her fists, she solemnly swears: "I'll forever follow Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. I'll be a proletarian vanguard fighter with consciousness and dedicate my life to the struggle for the liberation of the whole mankind!"

The company commander returns from the shooting range and affectionately addresses Ch'ing-hua. Shamefully she walks up and stands in front of the company commander and confesses her mistake. The company commander is pleased with Ch'ing-hua's maturity and cannot help showing her love for this new stubborn fighter. She exhorts Ch'ing-hua to continue to heighten her proletarian consciousness and, with deep hatred for the class enemy in her heart, master the techniques of killing the enemy. Led by the company commander, she practices shooting and handgrenade throwing. She forges ahead with courage.

(The company commander and Ch'ing-hua in a duet dance.)

Hung comes over and is pleased to see Ch'ing-hua in high fighting spirits. He has the company commander return the gun to her. Excitedly she expresses her revolutionary determination to the Party representative and the company commander.

There is abundant sunshine in the base area. The heroic Red Army company is united, tense, serious, lively, and ever growing with vigor.

The fighters who have just completed their drills, carrying guns seized from the enemy, report to Hung. Hung chats with them intimately, encouraging them to seize more guns and destroy more enemies.

The women fighters, carrying the cabbage and fish they have grown and bred, come along. Hung heads for the fields with them.

A woman fighter is helping a Red Army man mend his uniform, while exchanging their experiences in markmanship. By the river bank, a group of fighters walk past in high spirits, vigilantly defending the Red base area....

Several women fighters are washing vegetables by the river bank. When they discover the chief of the cooking squad heading for the river with a bucket, they happily go forward to stop him. They snatch his bucket and joyously fetch the water for him.

(Dance by the women fighters and the cooking squad chief.)

From the distance there comes the sound of joyous singing from the villagers. Hung and the company commander lead the fighters to form ranks to welcome.

The villagers have come to comfort the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with rain-hats they have woven and the lichee they have picked.

The girls, holding the rain-hats, dance and sing. They sing the praises of the fish-water relationship between the army and people.

(Singing:

The water of the Wanchuan River is clear,
We weave rain-hats for the Red Army.
The army loves the people and the people support the army,
The army and the people are united as one family.
The water of the Wanchuan River is clear,
We weave rain-hats for the Red Army.
The army loves the people and the people support the army,
The army and the people are united in fighting the enemy.
The scenery is fine in the Red area,
The Army and the people are one family.
The water of the Wanchuan River is clear,
We weave rain-hats for the Red Army,
The Army and the people are united in marching forward.)

On behalf of the armed forces, Hung thanks the villagers for their profound friendship, and expresses the determination to win more battles to repay the villagers for their full support.

Warmly applauded by the villagers, the company commander and Ch'ing-hua lead the women fighters in a dance.

Hung and the Red Army men perform a dance in an unrestrained and gallant manner. In powerful steps, they wave their strong arms, leaping with swiftness. ("Leaping with one leg raised," "leaping and turning around," "spinning in the air," and "dramatic pose.") It expresses the heroic pride of the invincible and all-conquering Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

(Dance by Hung and Red Army men.)

The army and people, in a festive mood, are united as one family. They dance and sing.

(Collective dance.)

All of a sudden, the sound of a galloping horse approaches. P'ang, the messenger, returns with an order from the higher up.

Gunfire audible, the Kuomintang bandit troops are mounting a large-scale offensive against the base area.

Time is pressing, Hung and the company commander decide to set out immediately.

The Red Army men and the Red Guard members make an emergency mobilization. Marching valiantly, they say goodbye to their men and head for the battlefield.

- Curtain

ACT FIVE

(Shortly before dawn. In a position at a mountain pass.)

(The curtain rises: The wind drifts the clouds fast. The cliff stands high, smoke billows, artillery fire flashes red in the pass.)

Our main force is swiftly slipping to the enemy's rear to wipe out their crack units. The company commander, leading a part of the Women's Detachment, follows the main force in retreat. With a small contingent composed of Red Army soldiers and Red Guard members, Hung is holding a mountain top to cover this movement and block off the enemy.

The sound of heavy gunfire comes from the foot of the mountain. The ferocious and sly enemy attempts to attack by two routes. Hung, judging by the enemy's intention, decides to lead several comrades to the flank in defense of the pass. He orders Ch'ing-hua to direct the combat at the pass. Ch'ing-hua and fighters express their determination by saying: "We'll fulfill this task with resolve!"

The enemy charges. Ch'ing-hua and the fighters, taking advantage of the favorable terrain, deal a head-on blow at the enemy. Their bullets are like torrential rain falling on the enemy and their handgrenades explode in the midst of the enemy. The fighters, with courage and resolve, are united like a steel wall. They cover each other ("slippering with legs apart" and "kneeling down and spinning") and beat back the frantic offensive by the bandit troops.

(Collective dance by Ch'ing-hua and the fighters.)

A young fighter is wounded in battle but she still fights on stubbornly. Ch'ing-hua rushes to her and bandages her wound.

Hung and the fighters beat back the enemy coming from the flank. They return to the position. He expresses concern for the wounded woman fighter, who however refuses to leave the firing line!

The enemy tries to make a clumsy move again. He gathers more men for a second attack. The fighters one after another report to Hung: "We're running out of ammunition!"

At this critical juncture when they are outnumbered by the enemy and short of ammunition, Hung calmly tells the fighters: "The time has come for the Party to test us! Short of ammunition, we have our swords! And stones! We must hold the position with our lives and blood!"

The fighters draw out their swords, pick up the stones, and array themselves.

The enemies charge upward from the foot of the mountain. Hung leads the fighters. With swords and stones, they give the bandit troops a sound beating.

Ch'ing-hua, who has deep-seated hatred in her heart, after the Party education, is extremely firm and brave in battle. She fights the bandits persistently.

(Dance by Ch'ing-hua and mercenaries in combat:-)

Ch'ing-hua raises her saber with two hands and chops down hard. A mercenary hurriedly fights back. In the course of the violent tussle, Ch'ing-hua drops her sword. But she shows no fear. With empty hands, she dashes over and grabs the mercenary by the throat. (Ch'ing-hua grabs the mercenary, "dances with hands spread in the wind," swoops down, "legs apart," and leaps again, in a "dramatic pose.")

Ch'ing-hua becomes the stronger as she goes on fighting. She kicks away the mercenary's sword. The two fight with hands. Ch'ing-hua tactfully causes the mercenary to stumble. (Ch'ing-hua stretches out her leg and the mercenary stumbles and sits on the ground. She grabs the mercenary and leaps with one leg up.)

The mercenary is subdued and trampled underfoot by Ch'ing-hua. She loses no time in drawing the mercenary's dagger and finishes him.

The Red Army men and the Red Guard members, fighting bravely together, give the enemy a sound beating.

(Dance by two fighters and two bandit soldiers in a struggle.)

Bullets fly across and smoke fills the scene. Ch'ing-hua, P'ang and the fighters take on the enemy bravely under the fluttering red flag. As they keep on fighting, they grow stronger and braver. The red flag of victory flutters high on the position.

(Red flag dance.)

The bandit troops, routed, retreat. The heroes hold the position.

Looking at his watch, Hung excitedly tells the fighters: "According to the set schedule, our main force has safely moved on. We've successfully fulfilled our task of blocking off the enemy!" The fighters all wear a broad smile on their faces.

The contingent charged with the task of blocking off the enemy is about to leave the position when the enemy makes another charge. Hung is resolved to remain behind by himself to give cover. He orders Ch'ing-hua to take the comrades to move out quickly.

Ch'ing-hua anxiously but determinedly asks to stay behind to provide cover. Hung solemnly takes down his suitcase and hands it to Ch'ing-hua who has joined the Party gloriously at the firing line: "In case we lose contact, take it to the battalion Party committee."

Hung turns around and looks down at the enemy at the foot of the mountain. Ch'ing-hua for a second time walks over to Hung and asks to stay behind for combat. Hung waves his hand determinedly: "Execute the order!" Disappointed, she leads the comrades to leave the position.

Now, only Hung, a Red Army fighter and a Red Guard member remain at the position. The three of them are determined to block off the enemy.

(Militant dance by Hung and the two comrades-in-arms:-)

The enemy frantically charges toward the top of the mountain. Hung bravely fights the bandits ("spinning on the ground," "spinning in the air" throwing handgrenades; "spinning and charging in the air" throwing handgrenades). Suddenly, the Red Army fighter is hit and wounded. Hung orders the Red Guard member to help him. The Red Guard member suddenly discovers that a bandit soldier is aiming at Hung. He dashes forward and uses his body to block the bullet fired by the enemy.

Two bandit soldiers charge toward the position. Hung fights bravely singlehanded. He is exceedingly brave, showing the heroic spirit of the proletarian revolutionary fighter who overpowers the enemy.

(Hung and the two bandit soldiers dance in a fight:-)

Hung jumps and leaps with his saber, fighting the enemy stubbornly. (A bandit soldier charges like a tiger. Hung swiftly turns and tramples the bandit soldier underfoot.)

Another bandit soldier charges forward. Hung leaps in the air and chops down at him several times. The two bandit soldiers are killed one after another. (Hung "leaps like a swallow," chops to the left and to the right with his saber, and raises his saber in a "dramatic pose.")

A group of bandit soldiers charges forward. Hung is surrounded. He takes out the last handgrenade from his person, pulls the firing pin, raises it above his head, and threateningly closes in on the bandit soldiers. They retreat in confusion and run for life. Hung throws the handgrenade. There is a boom and the bandit soldiers are blown into pieces.

Hung goes back to help the two comrades-in-arms get up. They walk toward the pass. Suddenly a barrage of bullets is fired from behind. The two comrades-in-arms courageously lay down their lives, while Hung is seriously wounded. With the last ounce of his energy, he carefully puts his comrades-in-arms on the ground. He supports his body with one hand and looks in the direction his contingent is going, sure that his comrades have safely moved on. He feels extremely comforted and a smile of victory is on his lips.

Feeling the sharp pain from his wound, Hung faints on the ground.

Dark clouds cover the sky. Thunder rumbles.

Nan Pa-t'ien and the Kuomintang military officer, leading the remnant troops without their helmets or uniforms, climb up to the mountain top fearfully. When they discover Hung, they, trembling, surround him.

Hung slowly regains consciousness. He angrily breaks free from the bandit soldiers. He is like a strong pine tree that stands erect on a huge cliff. Flashes of lightning pierce through the dark clouds in the night sky and shine on his tall and powerful body. Hung's eyes are like sharp daggers that angrily pierce the bandits. The bandits, frightened, dare not look up.

- Curtain

CHANGING OF SCENE

(The curtain rises.)

The main force of the Red Army, with the power of a landslide, pushes ahead at a flying speed, pursuing and annihilating the bandit troops.

(Collective dance by Red Army fighters:-)

The battle banner flutters in the wind. The Red Army ranks, crossing mountains, carry out rapid raids on the enemy.

The torrent is rolling on. The fighters advance rapidly. ("Leaping with legs apart") They are like arrows that have left the bow. They are always marching forward.

- Light fades

ACT SIX

(Dusk. In the backyard of Nan's manor.

(Dark clouds hang low. It is all dark and gloomy. A large barian tree shoots up to the sky.)

The news of a succession of victories achieved by the Red Army causes confusion in the bandit lair. Lao Ssu runs on, draws his gun and threatens the mercenaries in a desperate effort to hold them together.

The Kuomintang bandit military officer, heavily routed by the Red Army, leads his remnant troops to flee for life, ignoring Bandit Nan's plea to stay.

Bandit Nan's wife, panic-stricken, orders the servants and maids to move the trunks and valuables and prepare to flee.

Seeing he is in a hopeless situation, Nan hits his chest and stamps his feet, growling wildly. Lao Ssu comes over and pretentiously says he is willing to stick to his boss in resisting to the end. Stretching their claws, they are carrying out a death-bed struggle.

(Dance by Nan and Lao Ssu.)

The mercenaries keep coming in to report that the Red Army is approaching nearer and nearer. Finding himself in an impasse, Nan orders the bandits: "Guard the courtyard. Pile up dry wood under the barian tree. And bring Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing here!"

Four mercenaries drag Hung in.

Hung, head high, enters. Cool and calm, he has nothing but contempt for his enemy. (A "dramatic pose.")

Bandit Nan brings out a sheet of white paper and asks Hung to write a letter of surrender in a vain attempt to save his own neck.

Hung, waving his arms, angrily breaks free from the mercenaries. The bandits retreat with panic.

(Hung in a solo dance:-)

Hung contemptuously glances at the heap of wood in front of the tree. In firm steps and stretching out his strong arms, he gazes at the sky, looks around. He has great pride: The beautiful mountains and rivers of the mother country! How broad and fertile. For a hundred years the devils have ruled supreme, and how much you have been damaged! And now a shining, broad path has been opened up on the Chingkang Mountain. Chairman Mao is guiding the way toward victory, the armed revolution, and the seizure of political power. Who can stop the raging fire on the prairie?

Raising high his right arm, Hung stands erect in the center of the execution ground. He thinks and listens. It seems the sound of the war song of the Red Women's Detachment is coming from beyond the sky; and right before his eyes, the people's army seems to be sweeping away the remnant enemy troops. Following the beats of the war song, he holds his right fist and trembles slightly. His eyes shine with excitement. The execution ground is a battle ground. He seems to be holding a knife and gun in his hands! In militant steps, he walks toward the Tyrant of the South. His eyes sharp as dagger and his heroic posture heavy as Mount T'ai bearing down, he walks toward Nan and Lao Ssu and forces them to step back in fright. (Hung "leaps like scissors" and swoops down. Bandit Nan kneels down and assumes a low posture, trembling.)

Hung leaps and, waving his arms, runs across the execution ground like a whirlwind, threatening the bandits. (He "kicks high," "raises one leg," "spins in the air." Fire of anger fills his heart. He rapidly "spins on the ground," and bends his body to one side in a "dramatic pose.") With extreme contempt and hatred for the class enemy, he seizes the white paper, tears it into shreds, and tosses them in the face of the Tyrant of the South.

It does not matter to have one's head chopped off, for communism is true. Waving his arms, Hung points his fingers at the bandits: "Communists are not afraid to die! You will never escape punishment by the people!" He leaps in the air, like an eagle spreading his wings in the air, hovering around above the enemy's head. (He "spins in the air in a whirlwind," "leaps like a swallow," "spins with one leg," and raises his arm in a "dramatic pose".) Communists are fearless; this fact causes the bandits to crawl on the ground, trembling.

Amid the heart-stirring "Internationale," Hung angrily breaks free from the bandits who swoop down on him. Majestically he mounts the pile of wood in front of the tree. He stretches his left hand forward, as if he were getting in touch with the beautiful mountains and rivers of the mother country. He looks into the distance, as if he were seeing the brilliant and glorious tomorrow of new China. Hung, trampling on the raging fire and raising his arms, shouts loudly the slogans: "Down with the Kuomintang reactionaries!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao!"

In the midst of the raging fire, Party member Hung stands erect like a giant.

- Light turns dim

The morning glow dispels the dark clouds. The sun is rising in the East.

The Red Flag is fluttering. The Red Army attacks and takes Cocoanut Palm Village.

(The commander of the Red Army battalion orders the fighters to charge forward. They march across the stage.

(The commander of the Women's Company leads the working masses armed with all types of weapons in charging forward. They march across the stage.

(The bandits retreat, pursued by the Red Army. All the bandits are wiped out.)

In the midst of confusion, Lao Ssu snatches the jewelery box from Bandit Nan's wife and vainly attempts to slip away. But he bumps into Bandit Nan who is fleeing himself. The two fight. Lao Ssu kicks Bandit Nan to the ground and hurriedly tries to escape.

Ch'ing-hua rushes in. She fires a shot at Lao Ssu, killing him. She turns around and kicks Bandit Nan to the ground, pointing her gun at him.

Bandit Nan kneels down pretentiously and begs for pardon, while secretly he draws out his dagger and savagely charges toward her. Ch'ing-hua swiftly evades him and gives him a blow, causing him to drop his dagger.

Bandit Nan flees in panic. Ch'ing-hua fires two shots in succession, killing this counter-revolutionary chieftain who has committed so many heinous crimes.

The fighters rush in, firing a barrage of shots at the all-evil Bandit Nan, avenging the broad masses of laboring people subject to his persecution.

The red sun is rising in the east, casting its glow on the earth. The Cocoanut Palm Village which had gone through deep hardship is liberated. The armymen and people pass this news around, cheering and dancing.

The Red Army frees the villagers who are locked up and beaten in Nan's dungeon and helps them break their chains. A white-haired man finds his grand-daughter snatched away from him by Nan. The villagers tell the Red Army about Bandit Nan's crimes. The crowds are agitated. The broad laboring masses, with tears of happiness in their eyes, express from the bottom of their hearts their infinite love and gratitude for the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party, and the Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

Ch'ing-hua and the company commander inquire everywhere about Hung's whereabouts. A bondmaid who has suffered much in Nan's manor bitterly recounts how Hung bravely sacrificed himself under the big barian tree. This news, like a thunder bolt, strikes everyone on the scene.

Ch'ing-hua dashes toward the tree, seized with extreme grief.

(Ch'ing-hua and the company commander in a duet dance:-)

The two wipe their tears and shake their fists, calling on the fighters to turn their sorrow into strength, inheriting the will of the martyr, and carrying the revolution through to the end! (They perform "acts of climbing up," "leaping across in the air," and "standing like cranes." They hold their heads high in a "dramatic pose.")

The stirring "Internationale" is sung. The Red Army fighters and the liberated laboring masses gather together under the barian tree, painfully paying their last respects to their beloved comrade-in-arms: Comrade Hung, you live forever in our hearts!

The Red Army Battalion commander announces the appointment of Wu Ch'ing-hua as the Party representative of the Women's Company. Ch'ing-hua solemnly takes Hung's suitcase from the hands of the battalion commander: "Oh, the Party! It is you who have freed me from the chasm of suffering. It is you who have nurtured me up in the midst of the raging fire of class struggle. I'll take Comrade Hung as my example and carry the revolution through to the end. I'll never leave the battleground, not until red flags flutter in the five continents and four seas!"

One Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing has sacrificed himself. But millions of revolutionaries have stood up. Under the militant red flag, the liberated working women actively join the ranks of the Women's Detachment.

The people's army continues to expand. The revolutionary torrent is irresistible. The mighty ranks, treading along the path smeared with the blood of the martyrs, will march forward in broad strides in the glowing morning sun!

- Curtain

(Remarks: This script carried here in this journal will later be published in reprint form, together with notes on the dances, the general musical score, and sketches of the stage art, costumes, and props.)

* * *

Mao Tsetung Thought Illumines the Victorious Advance of the Revolution in Ballet

- Some thoughts on the rehearsal of the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women"

by

China Ballet Troupe

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

"The orientation is correct, the revolution is successful, and the artistic results are also good." This is a radiant instruction given by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1964 with regard to the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women."

Inspired by Chairman Mao's great instruction and supported by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women," having been polished hundreds of times, is like a shining battle banner fluttering high over the world's ballet stage.

This is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, and the fruit of the practice of Chairman Mao's glorious work "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art."

Today, at a time marked by the vigorous development of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, when we look back at the militant course taken by the revolution in ballet which we carried out under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, we understand even more deeply our great leader Chairman Mao's glorious instruction on the "Red Detachment of Women." This instruction is a full affirmation and a high appraisal of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, and a guiding light for the creation and development of the proletarian revolutionary literature and art.

In "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" Chairman Mao points out: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."

In class society, ballet invariably serves certain classes. Ballet in feudal society was a palatial art used by the feudal aristocrats of Europe for the coronation of kings or investiture of the members of the royal families. By the time, marked by the ascendancy of capitalism, ballet had become the "zenith of art" of the bourgeoisie through such stages as the renaissance, the enlightenment, and romanticism of the European bourgeoisie. Today, in the era when capitalism is heading for general collapse, in the capitalist and revisionist countries, ballet serves the policies of aggression and war of imperialism and social-imperialism and serves the strengthening of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, through the ugly image of the stage, ballet is used to promote the degenerated "American way of life." In short, ballet, as an art, has from its birth been an instrument

serving the exploiting classes. It was only in 1964 when a revolution in ballet was started in our great socialist mother country that this stubborn fortress of art was completely destroyed and ballet was turned into a sharp weapon with which to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") This is the one and the only correct direction, as pointed out by our great leader Chairman Mao, for proletarian literature and art.

To persist in the direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is to serve the needs of the political struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve the basic interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers, namely, to serve the proletariat in seizing political power, consolidating it, continuing the revolution, and achieving the lofty ideals of communism. The old ballet consists of contents and forms giving exclusive expression to the ideal characters of the exploiting classes such as kings, princes, aristocrats, fairies, and ghosts. It not only cannot serve the workers, peasants and soldiers but continues to exercise dictatorship over the workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage and sabotage the economic foundation of socialism in our country. Therefore, the proletariat must subject ballet to a complete transformation.

However, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the literary and art circles, the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and the like did everything they could to promote the traditional ballet. By so doing they wanted to insure their domination of the stage of literature and art and to use traditional ballet as a tool to create public opinion for restoration of capitalism. Using the counter-revolutionary slogan "Let it be always a foreign form," they frantically opposed Chairman Mao's correct policy of "critically absorbing" the legacy of literature and art, and obstructed the proletariat from carrying out the revolution in literature and art. And when they found it impossible to resist the torrents of the revolution in ballet, they, while ostensibly obeying orders, secretly disobeyed them, carrying out all sorts of sabotage activities in an effort to strangle this revolution. Therefore, on the question of transforming ballet according to the world outlook and artistic concept of which class--a question of principle, there inevitably was unfolded a tit-for-tat struggle.

To Persist in the Direction of Literature and Art Serving Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, It Is Necessary to Take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the Guiding Thought, Give Profound Expression to the Great Theme of Class struggle, Reflect the Life of the Violent Proletarian Struggle, and Project Enthusiastically and Through All Possible Means Shining Proletarian Heroic Characters

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao teaches us: "Why should we not praise the people, the creators of the world history of man? Why should we not

praise the proletariat, the Communist Party, new democracy and socialism?" To praise the people, to praise the proletariat and its vanguard--the Communist Party, and to praise our great leader Chairman Mao--this is the basic task of the proletarian revolutionary literature and art. The proletarian revolution in literature and art is in itself a great revolution in which the proletariat and the working people, under the leadership of the Party, strive for the right to portray and praise themselves on the stage of literature and art. The "Summary of the Forum on Literary and Art Work in the Armed Forces Called by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing as Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao" points out: "There is an urgent need for us to organize in a planned and systematic way writings on many vital historical and current themes of the revolution". As far as historical themes of the revolution are concerned, "the main form of China's revolutionary struggle is armed struggle. The history of our Party may be said to be the history of armed struggle." (Inaugural Message to Communist) Therefore, we must take the history of the brave struggle in which the Chinese people, under the able leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, used armed revolution to oppose and eliminate armed counter-revolution as well as and the life of struggle in the great socialist revolution and socialist construction, for the last half a century as the greatest themes to be expressed in various forms of literature and art.

The "Red Detachment of Women," through its description of the militant course--the birth, growth, and expansion--of a "Red Women's Company," which was a revolutionary armed contingent under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the ten-year period of the civil war in our country, reveals with the aid of Mao Tsetung thought the main class contradiction during this period and the basic way for resolving this contradiction. It vividly shows the great truth: to seize political power, the proletariat must have a revolutionary party founded on the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, must have a people's army which is under the absolute leadership of this revolutionary party, must mobilize and rely on the broad masses of the people, and must establish solid rural revolutionary bases for the prosecution of the people's war.

Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and the like, deeply aware that the choice of the subject matter has an important effect on this revolution in ballet, brought out "Tachi and Her Father" which showed the bourgeois human interest to counteract the "Red Detachment of Women." They attempted in this way to establish the bad specimen for their theory of opposing the "smell of gun powder," theory of opposing "subject matter as decisive factor," and theory of "literature and art of the whole people" in order to disrupt the revolution in ballet. However, their conspiracy met with an ignominious defeat.

The ballet "Red Detachment of Women" constitutes a mighty weapon for the propagation of the invincible Mao Tsetung thought among the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Searching through the world history of ballet, can we find such a ballet as our "Red Detachment of Women" which with abundant political

enthusiasm extolls the life of the violent struggle of the masses of the people--the true creators of history--in breaking the chains which have bound them for thousands of years? And can we find such a ballet as our "Red Detachment of Women" which touchingly unfolds the broad and magnificent picture of people's war? No! There is none. The bourgeoisie once shamelessly played up the so-called "love and death" as the eternal theme of ballet, but the thin veil of "love" can never cover the bloody reality of their brutal exploitation and oppression of the laboring people, nor can it save them from their fate or doom.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao teaches us: "Revolutionary literature and art should create characters of all kinds on the basis of real life and help the masses move history forward."

The content of subject matter and the leitmotif of a work of art are mainly manifested through the molding of the image of the characters. For this reason, different classes in different periods in history always seek in their works of art to use their own class world outlook and artistic concept to mold their own ideal characters and present their own political views.

The proletariat has never concealed its political viewpoint. It has openly stated that striving to create proletarian heroic characters is the basic task and sacred duty of revolutionary literature and art. Our goal is to make the proletariat and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers masters of the stage and to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the stage. We must, through the molding of lofty and perfect heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers, propagate Mao Tsetung thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; oppose and criticize feudalist, capitalist and revisionist thoughts; carry out the education on the revolutionary traditions and the future of the revolution in order to enlighten the masses of the people and raise their class consciousness, inspire and arouse their revolutionary spirit, encourage them to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end and struggle for the complete emancipation of mankind, thereby moving history forward.

In "Red Detachment of Women," the heroic images of commanders and fighters of the Red Army of Chinese Workers and Peasants--especially the two dazzling proletarian heroic images of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua--are created.

Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's is a brilliant images of a fine representative of the heroic people's army personally created and led by Chairman Mao, a fine political cadre of the people's army, and a communist armed with Mao Tsetung thought. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," he consciously, faithfully and bravely executes and defends Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With the aid of Mao Tsetung thought, he directs the raging fire of class hatred of the enslaved people for the landlord class to the revolutionary channel toward complete destruction of the old world and the emancipation of the whole mankind. In the battlefield, he is a brave, fearless commander

and combatant who is "afraid of neither hardship nor death." On the enemy's execution ground, he is a proletarian hero who thinks "it does not matter to have one's head chopped off because communism is real." Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's lofty image is the concentration and generalization of the fine qualities of the great proletariat, the great people's army and the communists.

Another heroic character in the play, Wu Ch'ing-hua, represents the typical image of the brutally exploited and oppressed laboring people weighed down heavily by the three big mountains in the old society. Wu Ch'ing-hua, who has suffered so much, is in possession of a strong class hatred for and a spirit of resistance to the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Under the Party education, she grows up quickly to become a communist vanguard fighter with a high level of consciousness. The road taken by Wu Ch'ing-hua is precisely the only road which all exploited and oppressed people must take toward liberation.

"Correct things always develop in the course of struggle against incorrect things." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") It is exactly in the midst of the violent class struggle that the heroic images of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua in the ballet "Red Detachment of Women" are created. The class enemy has all along been hostile to and opposed the creation of proletarian heroic images. Lin Mo-han and his like, in order to obliterate the function of the Party's correct leadership and depreciate the image of the Party's leadership, first used Hung Lien, an odd "middle character", to substitute for Party member Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and later, in the name of giving prominence to the commander of the women's company, reduced the role of the Party representative Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing at every turn. Even in the few appearances of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, they missed no opportunity to uglify and distort the image of this hero. However, the charted course of the revolution in ballet cannot be altered by the sabotage of the class enemy. The proletarian fighters in time saw through the plot and exposed the mean acts of Lin Mo-han and the like. They persevered in molding the glorious image of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing according to Chairman Mao's teaching. For the past several years, having been repeatedly improved, the images of proletarian heroic characters such as Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua have become still loftier and more perfect.

The birth of the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women" and the domination of the ballet stage by the proletarian heroic images are an indication that this is a great revolution in which the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie on the stage of literature and art, and that this is a great starting point for the ballet to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To Persist in the Direction of Literature and Art Serving the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, It Is Necessary to Follow the Great Policy of "Making the Ancient Serve the Present and Foreign Things Serve China" and "Weeding Out the Old to Let the New Emerge" and to Transform the Old Forms of Art

Chairman Mao in the "Talks" teaches us: "We do not refuse to use the art forms of the past periods. But these old forms, after we have transformed and added new contents to them, become revolutionary things at the service of the people." In accordance with Chairman Mao's great policy of "making ancient serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding out the old to let the new emerge" and with a view to using the art form of ballet to present the great theme of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war and to project proletarian heroic images, we, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, waged an acute struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and carried out a profound transformation of the old art form of ballet.

This revolution is mainly manifested in the following respects:

1. To create and apply fine, typified language of dance to the molding of proletarian heroic characters in the ballet.

The language of dance is one of the most important means for characterization and molding of images in the art of ballet. And an accurate, fresh and clear language of dance is an organic combination of various postures and movements of dancing.

The dance language of traditional ballet has since the 18th century been played up by the bourgeoisie as "having the characteristics of a high degree of elegance and nobility," as "having reached a completely perfect stage," and as "having little that can be improved." In point of fact, it is pitifully poor, and at best it can only express the distorted psychology of the exploiting classes--despair, grief, decadence and fantasy. Since the ballet of the Western bourgeoisie and Soviet modern revisionism embarked on the road of the modernist and abstract schools, their dance language has become more low-taste and vulgar and disgusting.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There will be no construction without destruction, no flow without damming, and no movement without stoppage." ("On New Democracy") On the socialist ballet stage, for the projection of radiant images of proletarian heroes, a typified, rich and colorful language of dance that is suited to the expression of proletarian thoughts and feelings is required. This is a demand of the new time and the revolutionary political content on the art form. We have resolutely rid the dance language of the traditional ballet of the dross which is soft, weak and gives exclusive expression to the thoughts and feelings of the ideal characters of the exploiting classes; broken through the bondage of the "frameworks" and " "taboos" of the old ballet, and created the proletariat's own newest and most beautiful language of dance.

With the object of projecting tall and perfect heroic images of the proletariat, when creating and designing the dance language of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua, we first of all made a comprehensive analysis of the spiritual state of the heroic characters, and grasped the most essential characteristics so as to provide a general keynote to their dance language. For instance, the image of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, the Party representative in the Women's Company, is that of basic-level leadership of the Party armed with Mao Tsetung thought--that of an outstanding representative of the people's army who has the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. For this reason, the general keynote of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's dance language is cool, forceful, strong and progressive. Wu Ch'ing-hua is the daughter of a poor peasant who has suffered much, and hers is an image of resistance, so that the general keynote of her dance language is strong, tough, dimensional, and possessive of revolutionary dynamism.

Having set the general keynote of the dance language of the heroic characters, in order to present the various sides of the characters' inner world and its development, we also, taking into account the different needs of struggle in typical circumstances, created a special dance language for the heroic characters which is distinct from that of other positive characters, and accorded the heroic characters the maximum of time and space so that they might apply their dance language to a full presentation of the proletarian thoughts and feelings.

Take the scene in which "Ch'ang-ch'ing lays down his life" for example. It is a scene which portrays Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's courage to fight the class enemy singlehandedly during the last moment of his life. Seriously wounded, Hung is dragged to the enemy's execution ground. How should we design his dance language? This is a question of principle--the question of using the world outlook and artistic concept of which class in guiding creation. In our view, the serious injury and the execution ground are only superficial phenomena, and essentially speaking, Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing is a revolutionary hero with the spiritual strength of overpowering all enemies--a tough guy of the proletariat. To him, the execution ground is the battle-found to fight the class enemy. For this reason, Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing is naturally the master of the whole stage, and his language of dance should also be tough and militant. However, Lin Mo-han, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, cried out: "Since he is so seriously wounded, he should not raise his head and expand his chest; otherwise, this will not be realistic." What is "realistic"? This was obviously a vain attempt to publicize the ugly spiritual outlook of the renegade who was afraid to die, a slander against the thousands of revolutionary martyrs! We firmly criticized the platitude of the so-called theory of "writing about truth" advertized by revisionism and we stood fast to the proletarian principle of Party spirit. With the proletarian world outlook and artistic concept, we created and designed Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's language of dance. We let Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing the hero raise his head and stand upright throughout the episode and let him perform various movements such as "leaping like a swallow," "jumping in the scissor style," "leaping in the air," "spinning in the air," and "spinning on the ground." He is like a swift eagle spreading his wings, flying

mightily on the stage and denouncing the bandits. In this way, unreserved expression is given to the fearlessness and heroism of the communists who under any difficult circumstances "overwhelm all enemies and are not overwhelmed by the enemy." The series of the dance language of the hero Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing is not only grounded in the life of practical revolutionary struggle, but having been artistically polished, makes his life "higher, stronger, more concentrated, more typical, more ideal and thus more universal than the ordinary practical life." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.") At the same time, this dance language also critically absorbs and learns from certain relatively healthy, strong and broad techniques and tactics of the traditional ballet, the art of Peking opera, national dances and the art of traditional boxing among the people, and these have been transformed to let the new emerge. For this reason, it not only retains the characteristics of ballet, but it also does not swallow everything raw. It is a language of ballet which is rich in Chinese national characteristics.

Taking "Ch'ing-hua's accusations" for another example. This is a scene which gives expression to her inveterate class hatred. In it, she indicts the towering crimes of the landlord Nan Pa-t'ien. At first, in the selection of the language of dance, Lin Mo-han, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, tried energetically to carry out his sabotage, when he said nonsensically: "Wu Ch'ing-hua must express more grief and sorrow, instead of always raising her fists." Had we acted in accordance with such a reactionary viewpoint in designing the dance language of Wu Ch'ing-hua, we were bound to distort Wu's image into that of a sad and weak girl devoid of the spirit of resistance. We beat back the evil wind blown up by Lin Mo-han and his like for the promotion of "middle characters," and insisted on giving Wu Ch'ing-hua a dance language that presented her spirit of resistance. In the course of further perfecting, processing and polishing the ballet, in order to give a greater demonstration of the class nature of Wu Ch'ing-hua whose sufferings are deep and who makes a clear distinction between what she loves and hates, we once more created and applied a group of clear, refined, precise and typified symbols of dance.

For example: In telling of Nan Pa-t'ien's brutal crimes, she finished a bowl of cocoanut milk when the company commander discovered the scars of the wound on her arms. At this time, Wu Ch'ing-hua suddenly stands on her toes, "bends to one side to touch her legs with her hand," pulls up her sleeves to show the scars of her wounds. Then, swiftly "spreading wings, squatting and spinning" and "turning her body and walking on her knees," she faced the armymen and the people, raising her arms and clenching her fists in showing the scars on her body. Next, with the fire of class hatred burning in her heart and emitting from her eyes, she makes such accurate dance postures as "leaping to one side," turning around, and "standing on her toes," in a reconstruction of the scene in which she was tied and suspended in the air in Nan Pa-t'ien's dungeon. The dance language of "Ch'ing-hua's accusations" consists of both high and low notes, positive and negative notes, conveying a strong feeling and forming a sharp contrast. It is orderly, and articulate, profoundly demonstrating Wu Ch'ing-hua's class

nature and what she loves and hates and giving special expression to her inveterate hatred for the landlord class and her stubborn character of resistance.

In order to enable the beauty of the inner world of the proletarian heroic characters to be shown more fully and more prominently, in this general body of the dance language we have given extremely serious attention to the application of the dance postures with a view to achieving a supreme unity of the beauty of the heroic characters' inner world and the beauty of their outward image. The dance postures are a most forceful means for revealing the heroic characters' class nature, qualities, and mentality. In the course of the dance, the time required for posturing momentarily is not long, and sometimes it is merely a fleeting moment. Nevertheless, this fleeting moment of characterization delineates the most essential characteristics of the characters, making it possible for the audience to perceive penetratingly and minutely the lofty spiritual world of the heroic characters and deepening the artistic influence on them.

In the whole play of "Red Detachment of Women," dance postures have been designed and arranged for Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua that are capable of massively demonstrating their fine qualities and noble spiritual world. Take the first scene for instance. Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing disguises himself in his scout mission through the grove of the cocoanut palms. When he appears on the stage, he looks a man brave and lofty in temperament, with his eyes like two daggers stabbing at the man-eating old world. These several groups of postures absorb the tactics of "dramatic pose" in the art of Peking opera, and given the characteristics of the scout of the people's army, they prominently display Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's resourcefullness, prowess, sensitivity, and coolness. In the play, there are also designed saber-chopping postures that show Hung's courage and fearlessness; postures that show Hung's coolness in storming the Nan manor and fighting with the enemy; and postures that show his determination to sacrifice himself for the cause. As for the other heroic character Wu Ch'ing-hua, we have also designed such postures as "standing on her toes in the shape of a bow in a dramatic pose" and "bending low to salvage in the sea" that show her hatred for and resistance to the class enemies, and also such postures as "spreading wings in the wind" and various kinds of swooping down that show her special courage in the battlefield and in the combat with the mercenaries, after she has undergone Party education. The various dance postures in every scene for Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua tend to display from different facets the communist spiritual world of the proletarian heroic characters.

The practice of the revolution in ballet proves that the ballet art must have prominent, stable and fine postures. If no attention were paid to postures in the ballet art, it would be impossible to give expression to the profound ideological contents or to delineate the touching proletarian heroic images.

With regard to the dance language and dance postures in "Red Detachment of Women," the esthetical viewpoint of the proletariat is used to portray, generalize, concentrate and refine the life of struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers and to display the beauty of the spiritual world of the proletariat and the laboring people--masters of the new era with Mao Tsetung thought as its great banner. Such beauty is forever beyond the bourgeois ballet. Even if certain works of the bourgeois ballet do pay attention to the dance language and postures, many are things of bourgeois estheticism or formalism. In point of fact, no matter how hard the bourgeoisie racks its brain and what dance language or dance postures it selects, it cannot cover up the empty, perverse, corrupt and reactionary souls of the ideal characters of its own class. It cannot have the proletarian revolutionary pride, and even if it gives attention to certain techniques, it is short of vitality. Our practice of art proves that only those revolutionary fighters in literature and art who are infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, who dedicate themselves to praising the heroes among workers, peasants and soldiers, and who are full of revolutionary pride for the proletarian heroic characters they create, are capable of giving the greatest vitality to the new dance language and postures.

2. The ballet music must proceed from the revolutionary political content, submit to dance, and serve the molding of proletarian heroic characters.

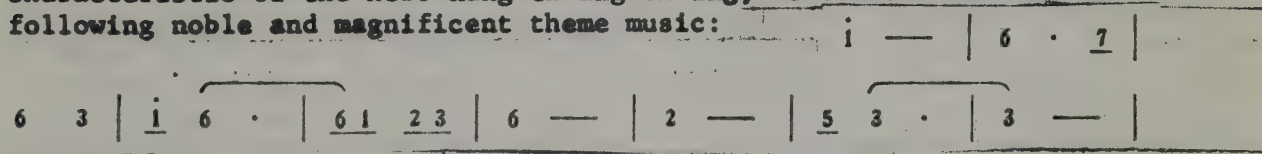
In the ballet art, the musical image must be subordinated to the dance image. The relationship between dance and music is that between the host and the guest. The guest can only play a supplementary and supporting role and cannot be permitted to take the place of the host. However, subordination of music to dance is both positive and dynamic, and if handled properly, it can more forcefully assist dance in expressing the content, and together they can serve the basic task of molding proletarian heroic characters.

Such views as "music is the main source of ballet" and "dance is the echo of music" are all reactionary fallacies conjured up by the bourgeoisie to meet their needs. They turn music into something mystic and unfathomable. They vainly attempt to use some abstruse music to cover up their reactionary, decadent, vulgar and low-taste political content. For many years, these reactionary theories which regard "music as the decisive factor" have become a sacred and inviolable artistic "law" in ballet.

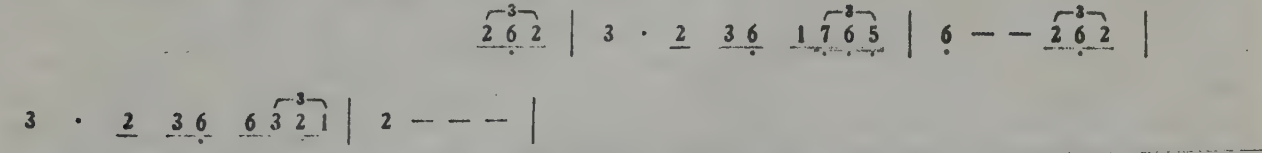
In the course of creating the music for the "Red Detachment of Women," Lin Mo-han and a small pack of counter-revolutionary revisionists did the best they could to carry out their sabotage. They advocated that the music should be as "sentimental" as that of the poisonous ballet "Giselle," and thus vainly tried to use the bourgeois "sentimentality" to distort and uglify, by way of musical images, the heroic image of the proletariat.

Under the guidance of the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, we persevered in proceeding from the content of music, making music subordinate to dance and serve the molding of proletarian heroic characters. With resolve we embarked on the proletariat's own road, completely smashed those bourgeois "foreign frameworks" and "foreign taboos," crushed the plot of a small pack of counter-revolutionary revisionists, and established the proletarian principle for the creation of the revolutionary ballet music.

In the ballet art, if we are to proceed from the content of music and the basic task of molding proletarian heroic characters, we must first of all design dazzling musical images for the heroic characters. In this connection, the designing of the theme music of the heroic characters is particularly important. We have upheld two principles: the theme music must be clearcut and simple. Being clearcut, it is capable of a supreme generalization of the most typical and noblest characteristics and spiritual temperament of the heroic characters. Being simple, it should be easily understood and remembered and appropriate to dancing. In accordance with this principle, in the ballet "Red Detachment of Women," we created and designed the theme music for Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua respectively. Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing is the Party representative in the Women's Company, and his is a shining image of a communist who is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, to the Party and the people. On the basis of this fundamental characteristic of the hero Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, we created for him the following noble and magnificent theme music:



The tune of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's theme music is simple and expansive, cool and forceful, prominently reflecting the grand and proud revolutionary temperament of the proletariat. Wu Ch'ing-hua is a heroic character in the process of growing up. Having suffered a great deal, she is rich in the proletarian spirit of resistance. We grasped these basic characteristics and created for her the following theme music:

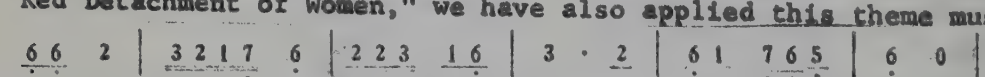


The tune of Wu Ch'ing-hua's theme music is simple and clearcut in image, and has a powerful sense of motion and impact. It shows her stubborn character of resistance and reflects the deep hatred of the oppressed people. The theme music begins with the appearance of the heroic character, and is applied and developed in different ways in accordance with the needs of the given environments of the heroic character.

Take Act Six for example. In order to give forceful expression to Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing's lofty ideological state of revolutionary optimism, the music fully develops its dynamic role. In the midst of the heart-stirring theme music, Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing unyieldingly stands on the execution ground.

With the sun in his heart and wearing a smile, he stands with head high in the center of the stage. At this time, the theme music appears against the backdrop of the soft playing of the stringed instrument and the harp. The tune wave of the "Song of the Women's Company" stirs in the heart of the hero Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing. His blood boiling and the tide of thought rising in his mind, he tightly clenches his right fist and is so seized with emotion as to tremble slightly in keeping with the beats of the "Song of the Women's Company." By the side of his ears is echoed the blowing of the horn of triumph by the Red Detachment of Women after sweeping away the remnant enemy. Before his eyes is unfolded the spectacular scene in which Chairman Mao "arouses millions of workers and peasants" and all over China "trees are covered by the frost and the sky is brightly red". His firm faith in the sure victory of the communist cause makes him all the more militant. In the midst of the heart-stirring war drums, Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, walking in resolute steps, is determined to fight for the communist cause till his last breath. In Act Two, "Ch'ing-hua's accusations," the theme music is also adequately applied and developed. In the rapid beats of the drums, Wu Ch'ing-hua begins her accusations against Nan Pa-t'ien's crimes. At this moment, the changing melody of Ch'ing-hua's theme music is played on stringed instruments which have a strong power of expression. When designing this passage of music, we, with profound class sentiments, strove to make every symbol imbued with the sufferings of the class sisters and their inveterate hatred against the class enemy. We made the melody and the rhythm as tough, expansive and forceful as possible. This has given powerful expression to Wu Ch'ing-hua's resolute will and determination to rebel, to revenge, and to tear Nan Pa-t'ien to pieces. This passage of music is like flood water breaking the embankment, violently pounding that cannibalistic old society. It is irresistible. It merges into one single entity with the groups of postures and dance movements which show Wu Ch'ing-hua's stubborn character and spirit of resistance. It profoundly reflects the deep hatred of this daughter of a poor peasant for her class enemy Nan Pa-t'ien. Take Act Six for another example. When the armymen and people are celebrating their victory, both Wu Ch'ing-hua and they see the tall barian tree, under which Ch'ang-ch'ing courageously sacrificed his life. All of them are filled with grief and anger. At this moment the music is heavy in tone and Ch'ang-ch'ing's theme music is played in a heroic manner. Through the re-playing of the music, the lofty image of a communist fighter who is infinitely loyal to the Party and the people seems to be again standing erect before people's eyes, and they cannot help standing up and paying their respects. One Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing has fallen, but millions of revolutionaries have stood up and they, treading the path stained with the blood of martyrs, are marching forward, holding high the red banner of the revolution! Marching forward!

Proceeding from the great theme of people's war in the ballet "Red Detachment of Women," we have also applied this theme music:



It is the generalization of the leitmotif of the whole ballet, and it represents the revolutionary collective musical image of the Women's Detachment in combat and runs through the whole ballet.

In order to more profoundly reveal the noble spiritual state of the heroic characters and enable the revolutionary ballet to have "the Chinese style and Chinese spirit which are loved by the Chinese people" ("Oppose the Party's Eight-Legged Style"), we have broken the bondage of the old system of the Western orchestra, and crushed the sabotage acts of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lin Mo-han and company who viciously attacked the musical instruments among the Chinese people as "making the sound of logs" and who vainly attempted to prevent these musical instruments from being added to the music of the "Red Detachment of Women." In the revolutionary practice of seeking the highest perfection, the ballet "Red Detachment" has successfully applied the drums and gongs of Peking opera and the musical instruments in use among the people. Such an innovation not only has given full scope to the characteristics of the Western orchestra having a broad sound magnitude and high volume, but it has added the lively national color and enriched the music's power of expression, so that the ballet music has a unique style loved by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

The music of the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women," with its clearcut class character, broad mass character, and magnificent epochal spirit, completes the molding of the musical images of the heroic characters, Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua. It completely crushes such reactionary artistic "laws" as the "theory of source" and "theory of echo" of bourgeois estheticism and formalism. It sweeps away the sentimentalism, darkness, perversion and corruption in bourgeois music.

3. Stage arts in ballet must serve the molding of proletarian heroic characters, and attention must be given to the word "purity".

In ballet, stage arts (including setting, lights, costumes, make-up, and props) are also an important means for the projection of images of characters. They support and give prominence to the images of characters and illustrate the epochal background and the typical environments of the characters. However, the bourgeoisie, proceeding from self-expression, in the course of creating stage arts, ignore the needs of content of the play and simply pursue what they call the "sense of art" and the "sense of orderliness," turning the stage into a disorderly stage where the audience sees only the objects and not the people. They also promote the so-called modernist and abstract schools. They paint the ceilings of the stage in different colors or else they simply put an umbrella or hang two cloth bands on the stage.....Such ugly and vulgar designs fully expose the decadence and decline of the bourgeois stage arts.

On the design of stage arts for the "Red Detachment of Women," a small group of counter-revolutionary revisionists, in the name of "revision," promoted the "foreign dogmas" with respect to setting, costumes and make-up, deliberately giving prominence to individual dances in order to reduce the role of the heroic characters. We waged an uncompromising struggle against these elements.

In the matter of stage arts for the revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women," we have thrown into the dustbin all the junk of naturalism, formalism and the abstract school concerning the bourgeois stage arts. We have resolutely implemented the principle of giving prominence to proletarian heroic characters and the revolutionary political content. We do not promote color for its own sake. When molding heroic characters and other positive characters, we have especially put the emphasis on the word "simplicity" so as to give expression to the beauty of the images of the proletarian heroic characters and the beauty of their noble communist spiritual state. For instance, in the first half of Act Two, the main thing is to give expression to the celebration of the birth of the "Red Women's Company" by the armymen and people in the base area. In order to put to the fore the brilliant idea that "without a people's army, the people will have nothing," we sought all possible means in giving prominence to the design of the stage arts that illuminate the Party representative Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and the Red Women's Detachment which he leads. We avoided the tendency of simply using thick brushes to exaggerate the atmosphere to the extent of submerging the main heroic characters. For this reason, when the Act began, although we also played up the scene of growing prosperity in the base, yet when Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and members of the Red Women's Detachment marched in big strides onto the stage, all the colors of the setting, lights and costumes present an orderly contrast to Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and members of the Women's Detachment: the blue sky, the pure white clouds, in sharp contrast to the dazzlingly red banner of the Women's Company; the festival costumes of the villagers constrast strikingly with the silver grey uniforms of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and the fighters with their attractive red five-starred insignia, red collar badges, and red arm bands. "One red star is worn on the head and revolutionary red flags are hoisted on two sides"--this graphically shows the loyalty of Hung and fighters of the Red Detachment in faithfully carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. For another instance, take Act Four, in which both armymen and the people hold joint celebrations. We designed for the villagers costumes of thin color to bring into prominence the grand images of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing and Wu Ch'ing-hua and the heroic people's army.

With respect to the costume design for the characters, we resolutely opposed the naturalist tendency of moving intact the clothes worn in daily life onto the stage. At the same time, we also strongly opposed the formalistic tendency of pursuing beauty for its own sake that is divorced from life and is not conformable to the historical conditions in which the characters exist. Both these two tendencies tarnish the image of the laboring people. For instance, the Red Women's Company, which Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing leads, is a workers' and peasants' revolutionary armed contingent composed of children of workers and peasants who for generations were brutally exploited and oppressed by the landlords and the bourgeoisie. It is facing years of extreme hardship in combat, in a situation where the enemy is strong and we are weak and the numerical strength of the enemy is much greater than ours. For this reason, the gray uniforms they are wearing all have patches. Of course, these patches must be presented properly, and must not give the impression that they are nothing but rags.

With respect to the stage arts of the ballet "Red Detachment of Women," we applied the method of creation combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, and using clearly strong class love and hatred, we enthusiastically praised the heroic characters and profoundly exposed the villains. Take Act Five as an example. When Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, covering for his comrades-in-arms, was seriously wounded and fainted, we arranged the scene in such a way that dark clouds covered the sky and thunder rumbled in the distance. A group of mercenary soldiers, following Nan Pa-t'ien, fearfully approached Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing, Hung angrily pushed them away and stared at Nan Pa-t'ien. At this moment, we arranged for roars of mountain-shaking thunder and flashes of lightning that pierced through the dark clouds. Thunder and lightning serve to bring out the lofty image of Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing standing erect. They symbolize the strength for the destruction of the old world and foretell the impending revolutionary storm.

The success in the creation of the first revolutionary modern ballet "Red Detachment of Women" in our country is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art! It is the solid fruit of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's hard work! It has opened a new road for the thriving development of ballet in China. We are determined to hold high forever the banner of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," to be loyal always to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, continue to seek the highest perfection, stage revolutionary model plays well, and defend them. We will strive to enable more and more workers, peasants and soldiers to see these revolutionary model plays. We will resolutely follow the road of integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers--the road pointed out by the "Talks," go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and into the violent struggle, and thoroughly transform our world outlook. We pledge, with the revolutionary "strength of an ox," to practice well the two basic skills, continue the revolution, advance without hitch, and perform new merits on the journey of winning greater victories in the proletarian revolution in literature and art!

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New-Born Matters on Ideological Front

by

An Chiang (安江)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Promoted by the great proletarian cultural revolution, and with the revolutionary mass movement fast developing on the industrial and agricultural fronts, there have emerged many revolutionary new-born matters on the ideological front. Among them are philosophical study groups, criticism groups, mass criticism and fighting groups and "indigenous reporter" groups organized by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and writing groups organized by the revolutionary committees at various levels. The emergence of these new-born matters conspicuously reflects that the workers, peasants and soldiers, guided by Mao Tsetung thought, have occupied the ideological and theoretical fronts. It has greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of ideology.

These new-born matters do not happen by accident. The great proletarian cultural revolution has enabled the broad revolutionary masses to realize that the grasping of class struggle in the sphere of ideology, the carrying out of revolutionary mass criticism and the preparation of revolutionary public opinion are utterly important in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. People have deeply felt that, with the struggle-criticism-transformation movement developed in depth, and for the sake of educating the broad masses to fight in unity against the enemy and for the purpose of using the proletarian world outlook to defeat the bourgeois world outlook among the people, it is necessary to rouse the broad masses by various possible means to apply Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought in criticizing the bourgeoisie and fighting the enemy and educating themselves and this is a fighting task which must be carried on perseveringly and constantly. These new-born matters on the ideological front have emerged precisely to meet this need of the developing situation of the revolution. They are a necessary outcome of the in-depth development of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology.

These new-born matters have some characteristics in common: a clear-cut class character, a strong militant character and an extensive mass character. The emergence of these new-born matters has promoted the deep-going development of the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, quickened the implementation of Chairman Mao's great strategic plans and of the series of his directives and policies; it has reinforced the concentric fire on the proletarian ideological front, shooting volleys of bullets into the enemy's heart, hitting hard at the class enemy, and criticizing the bourgeoisie; it has strengthened the ideological and political work of the masses and promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking. The emergence of these new-born matters is conducive not only to the development of democracy, but also to the realization of centralism on the

basis of democracy. It plays an excellent role in "creating the kind of vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind."

Some comrades may ask: "Is it true that an article or a criticism movement can help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

In consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to wage struggle in many fields, including the struggle in the ideological sphere. Chairman Mao teaches us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." Tightly grasping class struggle in the ideological sphere, using the revolutionary public opinion to defeat the counter-revolutionary public opinion and letting Mao Tsetung thought occupy all fronts--this is the key to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing restoration of the proletariat. If class struggle in the ideological sphere is neglected and slackened, it is useless to talk about the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, the struggle for defeating the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere takes a long time and cannot be resolved by an article or a criticism movement alone. But, it must be realized gradually through one article after another and one criticism movement after another and by continuously launching attacks on the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and of all exploiting classes in various fields.

Battles have to be fought one after another, the enemies have to be wiped out in one part after another, and the pernicious influence of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary line also has to be eliminated thoroughly through one criticism movement after another. Each article and each criticism form a component part of the whole struggle of the proletariat for defeating the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have seen clearly that the articles of criticism, commentaries, and writings on the study of philosophy, which were written really with Mao Tsetung thought, have exploded like "shells" over the enemies, destroying the ideological fronts of the bourgeoisie and sweeping away the influence of the bourgeois ideology in the people's minds. If we on the one hand recognize the class struggle in the ideological sphere and on the other hand doubt the large numbers of new-born matters emerging on the ideological front and pay no attention to the role played by each article and each criticism movement, we are actually negating the necessity of fighting a people's war in the ideological sphere.

Some other comrades may recognize the power of these new-born matters, but they may say: "We don't have the conditions here. We lack useful people and talents. We cannot do this."

By so saying, they mean they don't trust the wisdom and strength of the masses.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The masses are the real heroes." "In a sense, the fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and the most capable." The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers understand most clearly the meaning of classes and the meaning of exploitation and therefore love Chairman Mao most deeply and follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and the Party Central Committee's clarion calls most closely and carry them out most resolutely. They fight on the first line of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, and are rich in practical experience. They are the best conditioned for doing all work well and for carrying out the mass activity of creating revolutionary public opinion. If we do not see the firm and correct political orientation of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not see their endless wisdom and strength aroused by Mao Tsetung thought, are used to working quietly, and confine our scope to a small number of people, we are entirely running counter to Chairman Mao's teachings about the mass line.

Experience shows that the emergence of large numbers of these newborn matters is an outcome of the effort to fully trust the masses, rely on them and boldly rouse them and to launch mass movement on a big scale. On the basis on the activity of mass criticism, a certain production brigade organized a mass criticism fighting team with the poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay. Among them were illiterate old women in their seventies and 10-year-old young fighters of the Red Guards. They were by no means "useful people or talents." But, they held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, firmly grasped the link of class struggle. During the mass criticism, they chose the correct problems, disclosed them in depth and made criticism in a thoroughgoing way, closely followed the current situation, acted in accordance with the central tasks. They became staunch fighters in attacking the class enemies in the ideological sphere. They formed a very powerful propaganda force. Similar examples of an advanced group can be seen everywhere. This scene of prosperity on the ideological front gives an excellent answer to those comrades who do not trust the wisdom and strength of the masses.

The growth of the new-born matters on the ideological front is inseparable from the attention and support by the leadership at various levels. To consolidate and develop these new-born matters and to bring them into a better play, it is necessary to further strengthen the Party's leadership over them and to reinforce the ideological construction of this theoretical propaganda team. The attitude of paying no attention to these new-born matters, neglecting them and letting them have their own way is wrong and is disadvantageous to the growth of the new-born matters.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." ("Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership") Leadership at various levels should take the fostering and heightening of this theoretical propaganda force as an important task, constantly put it on the

agenda and study it, and pay attention to grasping the typical cases and summing up experience, so as to continuously raise the political and ideological levels of this force.

The key to raising the political and ideological levels of this force lies with our helping it study and apply Mao Tsetung thought well. Educators must first be educated. They must be made to go in the fore to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought, to apply the method of class analysis well in observing problems, to promptly grasp the new trend of class struggle, and to see through and resist various kinds of erroneous tendencies of the Right or the "Left."

Help should be given them in developing the proletarian style of study and in eliminating the pernicious influence of the bourgeois line in journalism. In the work of propaganda and writing, emphasis should be laid on integrating theory with practice and close attention paid to making investigations, so as to find truth from facts and to guard against the corruption by the bourgeois ideas of personal fame and gain and the bourgeois pompous style of work.

Help should be given them in continuously improving the quality of propaganda and writing. Effort should be made in line with Chairman Mao's teachings to write articles which are accurate, have a clear-cut stand and give a vivid description of things, so that they "follow a correct main orientation and have fresh and lively contents." Emphasis should be laid on analyzing the contradictions between different matters and on preventing one-sidedness. An article can be convincing only when it conveys a reasonable analysis. Even a short article, like a short commentary, should and can be written in this manner.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Class struggle in the ideological sphere will never stop. The handful of class enemies bitterly fear these new-born matters on the ideological front. They will invariably carry out sabotage and make trouble or frenziedly try to lead these matters to the sidetrack. These new-born matters are an outgrowth of the struggle and still must be protected and developed through the struggle. All revolutionary comrades should proceed from this basic task of grasping well the class struggle in the ideological sphere, pay close attention to the new-born matters, enthusiastically support them, so that they will strengthen and grow up and play a still greater role in the struggle-criticism-transformation movement and in the great struggle for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(This article is a combination of two other articles written by comrades of Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee and of Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee)

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Let Us All Go into Action and Rely on Our Own Efforts

- struggle between the two ideologies as industrial equipment is innovated

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and roused by the clarion call issued by the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice Chairman Lin as deputy leader, an excellent situation is now fast developing in the way of revolution and production the country over and a new upsurge has been whipped up in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The speedy development of industrial production calls for the vigorous development in new techniques, new technology, new materials and new products. This will involve a question, that is, the contradiction and incompatibility of the old equipment with the new demand.

How should this contradiction in the course of progress be resolved? This involves the struggle between the two diametrically opposite policies and ideologies.

"Comrades, let us all go into action and overcome our difficulties." ("On Production by the Army for Its Own Support and on the Importance of the Great Movements for Rectification and for Production.") Chairman Mao issued this great call during the period of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, but it is equally and entirely applicable in resolving the existing contradiction in the course of triumphant development of industrial production.

Act in line with Chairman Mao's teachings, rely on the enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses of workers, vigorously manufacture and develop the new equipment, actively renovate the old equipment and continuously satisfy the needs for a new leap forward in industrial production --this is the way to solve the question of equipment by chiefly relying on our own efforts. Is there any opposite way? Yes, there is. It is expressed by the fact that some people clamor the whole day that there is insufficient equipment and the equipment is old; they just look up and stretch their hands and make no efforts to innovate and use the existing old equipment, but place their hope entirely on the supply of new equipment by the higher level and on the imported new equipment. This is a passive way of neither relying on the masses nor relying on their own efforts.

At present, an upsurge of mass technical innovation and technical renovation is being stepped up on the industrial front in many localities. The workers, the revolutionary technicians and the revolutionary cadres form

"three-in-one combinations." They vigorously make indigenous equipment and develop the new equipment and, meanwhile, actively renovate the old equipment, make full use of the existing industrial base, vigorously develop production, and strive to give further aid to various parts of the country and to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

But, some people say: "Why do we rack our brains for the worn-out and old equipment? This is simply unprofitable. It is better to ask for new equipment from the state so that we can save much energy."

Is this idea correct? No. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") By "making full use," Chairman Mao means that we must do all in our power to innovate the old equipment and improve production. Only in this way will it be possible "to do more with less money." Is this practicable? Yes, it is. For example, while vigorously trial-producing and popularizing the new weaving machines, the textile trades in Shanghai, persisting in the policy of making full use of the old equipment, increased the output of cotton yarn by two times and more, compared with that in the early post-liberation period, the output of cotton cloth by 160 percent, and aid other localities with more than 1,000 sets of preparing equipment. Don't these facts show that innovation and use of old equipment is not "unprofitable" but is "very profitable"? Don't they show that so long as we fully rely on the masses and make full use of and innovate the industrial base left over from the old society, it is entirely possible to "do more with less money"? The idea that innovating the old equipment is not so straightforward and "effort-saving" as buying new equipment is, in essence, the idea of a coward and the philosophy of a lazy bone and runs entirely counter to Chairman Mao's brilliant idea of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."

Other people may say: Aren't we advocating innovation of the equipment? That means we must have new equipment all over and get rid of the old. Otherwise, the development of productive techniques will be hindered.

These comrades have been wholly tied up by the metaphysical viewpoint. To replace old equipment with the new is certainly a kind of innovation; renovating the old equipment and making it play the role of new equipment is also a kind of innovation. Take a factory for example. In most cases, in developing productive techniques, it is not necessary and impossible, too, to replace the existing equipment in the form of a "relief of duty." The new demands of production are always met by the method of installing new equipment in part or by the measures of innovating and renovating the old equipment. In a word, only by adopting the policy of walking on two legs, that is, combining the gradual installation of new equipment with the continuous renovation of the old equipment, will it be possible to meet the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Some factories do not renovate the old equipment and make no use of it and just dismantle it and throw it away. This is the style of pampered sons of the bourgeoisie. The worker

comrades feel a great pain at seeing this. They say: "They are undermining socialism and throwing away the traditions of hard working and plain living!" This criticism really hits the nail on the head.

The development of a thing always goes from a quantitative change to a qualitative change and from a gradual change to a quick change. Only after a long period of hard work will there possibly be a revolutionary leap forward. This is true in the technical development, and this is also true in the innovation of equipment. People who take the old equipment invariably as a "load", do not understand the dialectics between the new and the old, between quantitative change and qualitative change and between gradual change and quick change in the course of technical development.

New technique and new equipment by no means come out of nothing but develop in the course of renovation of the old equipment and old techniques. The new and the old are related to each other. New equipment of the past has become old equipment today; today's new equipment will also become old equipment by tomorrow. At present, the technical innovation in our equipment can only bring something new at a certain point or some new improvements in certain crucial parts of structure; it does not necessarily bring about a complete change from head to foot and from the inside to the outside. Even the newly-made equipment often is directly related with the rational factors and rational parts of the old equipment. Of course, when the quantitative change has developed to a certain stage, it may bring about a speedy, radical revolution. It is highly possible that we can renovate and replace all the existing old equipment in a relatively thoroughgoing way in not too long a period of time to come, pushing the whole of social production forward to a completely new stage. But, such a radical revolution in no way comes out of nothing. We must be actively prepared for the advent of this moment and start doing so from the existing material base. If you want to wholly throw away the old without going through the continuous innovation and renovation of the existing base, you are discontinuing the history of the productive technical development and, as a result, the development of production will invariably be hindered and undermined.

Still some other people hold that the foreign equipment is very complicated and that the more complicated the equipment is, the higher the grade it belongs to, and it is inadvisable to innovate such equipment. Even when they innovate this kind of old equipment, they always add something to it, instead of taking something away, so that the procedures of work are divided in greater details, and the structure of machines become more and more complicated.

Is this idea correct? It is not entirely correct, and a greater part of it is one-sided.

Is it true that more complicated equipment is better? Is it true that products requiring complicated techniques must be turned out with equipment of a complicated structure? This idea is not entirely agreeable to the law of technical development. Things always develop continuously in accordance with the law of improvement, like a spiral, from simplicity to complexity and again from complexity to simplicity. This is

also true with the law of development of industrial technique and equipment. Ever since the primitive society, man has had his productive tools, though of a backward "simple" kind. As society advances, people heighten their power of understanding and subsequently invent the complicated mechanical equipment of a big scale, of a kind of relatively high-graded, advanced "complexity." But, most parts of the mechanical equipment designed and built in the past were impracticable. With the exception of those parts built as a result of the restrictions by the level of development of production and by man's power of understanding, many other parts were clearly marked with the brand of the bourgeoisie, which were an abominable result in production caused by the capitalist social system. The reactionary relationship of capitalist production and the metaphysical theory of method of the bourgeoisie have caused redundance in most equipment, making it more and more complicated. To seek profits, seize markets and monopolize technology, the capitalists deliberately make things complicated and vigorously advocate formalism. This "complexity" made by man and not required in production is a retrogression and a low-grade, backward "complexity." Therefore, we must make a concrete analysis of the foreign equipment and should not regard it as all positive or all negative and, what is more important, must not blindly believe in it.

The Chinese workers who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought must step up an upsurge of technical innovation and get rid of metaphysics and scholasticism in techniques. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the workers of some factories in Shanghai put forward the slogan, "get rid of the appendix, pay attention to public health, break with scholasticism and advocate practicality," and proceeding from practical needs, boldly innovated most of the old equipment. This continuous innovation of old equipment on such a big scale resulted in a more advanced and a higher-grade "simplicity." In the past century and more, the world's printing and dyeing techniques have developed from one procedure to ten procedures of work, and a few machines are needed instead of only one. Now the printing and dyeing workers of Shanghai conduct a thoroughgoing innovation of these techniques. They want only one procedure of work and only one machine. The cloth dyed by the new equipment is much better in quality then the cloth dyed by old technology and old equipment. Meanwhile, consumption of coal, electricity, water and chemical materials has been reduced in a big degree. This means another leap forward from complexity to simplicity. Doesn't this "simple" printing and dyeing equipment represent an advanced, high-grade "simplicity"? Isn't it much better than the man-made "complexity"?

We not only have effected many major innovations in the old equipment, but also have boldly innovated the new equipment imported after the liberation and the mechanical equipment which was made in the foreign pattern as a result of being poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's slavish comprador philosophy. These old things are clumsy and big in size and complicated in structure, consume much raw and semi-finished materials, and require a high intensity of labor. They must be "used, criticized and transformed" and innovated in accordance with the policy of "making ancient things serve today and foreign things serve China," "weeding through the old to let the new emerge" and "discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the

true." Innumerable facts show that: Only after such bold and careful innovation can the old equipment serve our purpose better. Units which have acted in this way, whether they are big factories or small ones, have scored very remarkable results in the increase in their output or in the improvement of the quality of their products, and in the lowering of consumption of raw and semi-finished materials.

People who belittle and are unwilling to innovate the old equipment often have blind faith in the imported foreign equipment, copy it to the letter, and do not have the slightest bit of the spirit of innovating and creating things. They are out-and-out slaves. This once happened in the textile industry in Shanghai: Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, a number of machine for weaving cloth of a short width were imported. They were installed but found to be unworkable. The handful of capitalist roaders and reactionary technical "authorities" said: "The machines are good. It is because the workers do not know how to operate them." Well, the "foreign expert" was invited to tackle the matter and, after much effort, still could not work the machines. This "foreign expert" had the effrontery to say: "Our machines are good. It is because your cotton yarn is poor in quality." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary workers sharply criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. A "three-in-one" combination was formed among the workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres in the factory and another "three-in-one" combination among the factory leadership, the school and the scientific research unit was formed outside the factory, making full use of the old equipment and old machines and vigorously conducting technical innovation. They overcame the difficult problems in power, quality and speed and eventually succeeded in trial-producing the Chinese-pattern machine for weaving cloth of a big width. After some major experiments, this machine has now been popularized and used in the trades of cotton spinning, woolen spinning and silk spinning. Facts show that: The Chinese workers who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought entirely can "all go into action" and "rely on their own efforts" to create equipment of the first rate in the world and work all miracles on earth.

By "all go into action" and "rely on own efforts," we do not just refer to the producer units but, more importantly, we refer to the user units. The producer units certainly can make machines. The user units can make machines as well. But, some people insist on separating them, saying that the user unit should take care of use instead of making of machines, otherwise they are poking their nose into the business of other people.

Then, let us take a look at a struggle which took place in a small factory in Shanghai! This factory formerly produced small nails and had only a few belt-drawn lathes and a 40-year-old shaping machine. In line with the state's needs, the higher-level authorities wanted it to produce high-grade, precision molds. When this new task was brought forward, some people made a list, asking for more than 20 sets of special lathes and equipment from the state. The broad masses of workers of this factory firmly remembered Chairman Mao's teachings, "let us all go into action" and "rely on our own efforts," and withdrew the demand for equipment from the state. They said:

"We can build the lathes by ourselves. We can work with our own hands and turn the nail-making factory into a mold factory!" In the past three years, pushed forward by the great proletarian cultural revolution, they designed and made more than 100 sets of equipment of many kinds by their own efforts and promptly started production of precision molds of various types. Wasn't their poking into "other people's affairs" very agreeable to the demand of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism?

In fact, designing, making and use of equipment cannot be absolutely separated from each other. Only by using the productive equipment can one continuously put forward demands for innovation and improvement of this equipment. The inventors of many kinds of equipment are skilled workers, not "experts" or "authorities" divorced from practice. Chairman Mao says: "In a sense, fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and the most capable." Generally speaking, the user unit knows better than the producer unit the requirements of performance of the equipment and have the best say in innovating and creating the equipment. The bourgeoisie completely separates the designing, making and use of equipment from each other and even puts them in diametrically opposite positions, so that the producer takes no heed of the use and the user takes no heed of the production. This irrational phenomenon should in no way be allowed to exist any longer today.

We stress that, in the cause of socialist construction, there must be a certain division of labor and, what is more, there also must be the great coordination of the proletariat. In the course of innovation of equipment, all units must all go into action and work in unity--this is an important aspect of the upholding of the mass line. The user unit, the designing unit and the special producer unit must form a "three-in-one" combination, overcome their shortcomings by learning the strong points of each other, learn things from each other and help each other. We must obey Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Wholeheartedly rely on the working class," fully arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers, innovate the old equipment, create new equipment, and use more and better equipment to promote the large-scale development of industrial production. In this way, we can surely keep the surging and developing movement of production increase and economy rolling on in ever higher waves, overcome all difficulties in the course of our advance and continuously win new, greater victories!

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Is It Correct "Increase in Manpower Must Accompany Increase in Production"?

- an ideological problem met in carrying out the movement of increasing production and practicing economy

by

Writing Group, Fushun Municipal Revolutionary Committee, Liaoning Province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Inspired by the great proletarian cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of people are exerting their revolutionary efforts, with the momentum of an avalanche, pushing forward the new upsurge in socialist construction. On the industrial front, the mass movement of increasing production and practicing economy is rolling on in ever higher waves. Under this excellent situation in revolution and production, how to exploit the potentials of labor and to save manpower is an important problem concerning the further unfolding of the movement of increasing production and practicing economy.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In running any socialist economic enterprise, we must pay attention to making the greatest possible use of manpower and equipment, and do our best to improve labor organization and business management, to increase labor productivity, and to save any manpower and material resources that can be saved." (Notes on "Experience Gained by Litzuyuan Agricultural Productive Cooperative in Chenju Ch'u in Economizing Production Expenses") Obeying this great teaching given by Chairman Mao, the broad masses of workers fighting on the industrial front bring the active factor of man into full play, consciously exploit the potentials of labor and carry out technical innovation, making it possible to increase production without additional manpower and also to increase production with reduced manpower. But, some people do not understand correctly the dialectic relationship between increase of production and economy of manpower. They foster the erroneous idea that "there must be additional manpower in order to increase production." This idea is a kind of ideological hindrance to the deep-going development of the movement of increasing production and practicing economy. It must be discussed.

"It is reasonable to have additional manpower when production tasks are increased." This viewpoint has put the increase of production in a position diametrically opposite to the economy of manpower.

In the course of socialist economic construction, the struggle between the two lines and between the two ideologies has all along existed in one's attitude toward the relationship between increase of production and economy of manpower. Promoted on the economic front by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of running an enterprise proceeds from the reactionary

standpoint of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, regards the laboring people as "tools that can speak," and basically negates the subjective activity of man. It puts the increase of production diametrically opposite to the economy of manpower, applies simple mathematical formulae in calculating the relationship between man and things, and holds that there must be additional manpower in order to increase production and it is impossible to increase production if additional manpower is lacking. If an enterprise is run in accordance with this line, there will be redundance in administrative structure, hoarding of manpower, low productivity of labor, halt of output and waste of manpower. This is a line aiming at achieving "less, slower, poorer and more wasteful results." Chairman Mao's revolutionary line runs counter to this. It fully trusts and relies on the masses, attaches great importance to the subjective activity of the revolutionary people, regards the revolutionary people as the greatest productive force and strives to achieve both increase in production and economy of manpower on the basis of heightening the productivity of labor. This is a line aiming at achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." This idea that "there must be additional manpower in order to increase production" precisely reflects that "Liu's poison" has not yet been eliminated completely. It is agreeable only to the bourgeoisie and revisionism and absolutely not to the proletariat and socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is people, not things, that are decisive." ("On Protracted War") "Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") Here, by saying the factor of man being primary, Chairman Mao chiefly refers to the enthusiasm, creativeness and revolutionary initiative of the socialist-minded laboring people under the leadership of the Party. But, in the eyes of those people who hold that "increased manpower is necessary for increase in production," man is lifeless like a machine and the factor of politics and ideology cannot play a big role. They ask for additional manpower, just to get a few more sets of living machines. Thus, proceeding from the point of negating the subjective activity of man, they negate the endless creative power of the masses of the people who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought and consequently negate the people's leap forward from "consciousness to matter" in the course of social practice and fall into the quagmire of mechanism and metaphysics. This idea, in essence, aims at putting the factor of things in the first place.

What do we rely on in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction? We rely on the people who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought. Vice Chairman Lin points out: "Once Mao Tsetung thought is grasped by the broad masses, it will be translated into an endless force and an immensely powerful spiritual atom bomb." By emphatically bringing the factor of man to the fore, we mean to bring the revolutionization of man's thinking to the fore. Under conditions of a given number of men, the decisive factor in increasing production is whether the level of revolutionization of man's thinking is high or low.

In Fushun linoleum factory, the greatest ever number of people employed was 1,100 and yet they could not accomplish the task of producing 600,000 rolls of linoleum paper a year. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, they vigorously carried out the mass movement of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and made efforts to revolutionize their thinking, translating the spiritual force into a material force and bringing about a tremendous change in this factory. Compared with the past, productivity of labor has increased by more than three times. Only 400 or more employees are left in the whole factory and yet they can accomplish the task of producing 800,000 rolls of linoleum paper yearly, together with four varieties of new products. On the other hand, some units fail to bring the proletarian politics to the fore and to grasp the revolutionization of man's thinking and, despite an increase of several hundred men, still cannot increase their output. What a sharp criticism these two examples of both the positive and the negative sides furnish against the theory that "there must be additional manpower in order to increase production"!

"The campaign of increasing production and practicing economy is conducted every year, so that man's potentials have already been totally exploited." This idea not only runs counter to the objective law of development of man's understanding, but also is incompatible with the current situation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." (Quotations from Mao Tsetung, pp. 203-204) According to the viewpoint of materialist dialectics, the change and movement of the objective world have no end and will never end and, consequently, man's understanding and remolding of the objective world also have no end and will never end. Where there is the idea of making revolution forever, there will be potentials of labor which can never be totally unearthed. At no time should one say "potentials have already been totally tapped." The so-called theory that "potentials have been totally tapped" is actually a metaphysical point of view and an expression of the "ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency."

In the past, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents on the economic front promoted the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enforced the revisionist system of supervision, strangling, oppression and penalty, greatly restricting the display of the workers' revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness and seriously hindering the development of the productive forces. The great proletarian cultural revolution freed the broad masses of workers from the shackles of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, enabling them to fully display their revolutionary wisdom and strength. This was precisely pointed out in the "16-Point Decision," which was personally formulated by the great helmsman Chairman Mao: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

This powerful motive force will be shown ever more conspicuously with the advent of time. How can one say that there are no potentials to be unearthed?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must adhere to the mass line, boldly arouse the masses and launch vigorous mass movement." In exploiting potentials of labor, it is chiefly necessary to arouse the masses and to display the collective wisdom of the masses. People who hold that "potentials have already been totally unearthed" do not trust the masses, do not rely on them and do not understand that the potentials of labor lie in the mass movement under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought. The strength of an individual is limited while the masses have endless strength. With their strength and wisdom, the revolutionary masses can work miracles beyond the concept of the bourgeois mediocrity. Therefore, if only mass movements are launched under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought, there will be potentials of labor which can never be totally unearthed. The output of Fushun Cement Works in 1969 exceeded the highest level in history. At that moment, some people calculated the account of "number of people," clamoring that "potentials had been totally unearthed and there must be additional manpower in order to increase production." Helped by the support-the-Left personnel of the Liberation Army, this works adopted the method of launching a mass movement, thereby further eliminating duplication in administrative structure, improving labor organization, reinforcing the first line of production and carrying out technical innovation. Without asking for a single man from the state, it built three small factories, restored a mine, and continuously increased its output. This taught the people who formerly held that "potentials had already been totally tapped" an impressive lesson. They said: "By means of the abacus, we can only calculate the account of 'number of people,' but not the active factor of man and the potentials of labor."

Some people who hold that "potentials have been totally tapped" also hold that "it is a loss to unearth the potentials." These people proceed from the bourgeois "selfishness," from the partial interests of the local areas and their units, regard the tapping of potentials of labor and the saving of manpower for aiding fraternal units as "a loss," and try to retain surplus manpower. These comrades should discard their erroneous viewpoint and, proceeding from the interests of the revolution as a whole, bring the manpower and material resources of the local areas and their units into full play and contribute their shares toward the movement of increasing production and practicing economy.

Still some other people say that "more people make the job easier." This idea is actually a disguise of the theory that "it is justified to waste manpower."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must use our manpower and material resources with the utmost economy and do everything possible to avoid waste." ("Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by a War of Self-Defense") Marxist-Leninists hold that practice of economy is one of the basic principles of the socialist economy and that the socialist movement of practicing economy,

in the final analysis, aims at economizing materials and labor. The economy of labor is the greatest economy and the waste of labor is the greatest waste. Whether we economize or waste labor is a major problem concerning which direction we follow and what line we carry out in running an enterprise, and an important problem concerning whether or not we will "go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." During the movement of increasing production and practicing economy, we should fully understand the great meaning of the economy of labor. If a job is to be done by five men which can be done by three men, this not only is a direct waste of manpower, but also will invariably cause duplication in administrative structure, so that the masses cannot display their enthusiasm and creativeness and the productivity of labor cannot be heightened. Meanwhile, this will give rise to the phenomena of anarchism and indiscipline of labor. Dominated by the idea that "more people make the job easier," Fushun Chemical Works No. 2 set up two laboratories employing 56 men. Because these two laboratories had similar tasks, some people did only two hours of work a day, thus causing hoarding of labor. After a campaign was conducted to criticize the idea of extravagant use of manpower and to change the irrational regulations and systems, these two laboratories were combined into one and the staff was reduced to 23 men. They not only could accomplish their tasks better than before, but also took new tasks of examination and experiment. From this, it can be seen that only by scientifically and rationally using labor will it be possible to guarantee increase of production and to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results, and to dispell the idea of "the more people, the better." If there are more people than there is enough work for them, there will invariably be "less, slower, poorer and more wasteful results."

People who hold that "more people make the job easier" also confuse this idea with the idea of "leaving a margin." We advocate arousing the masses and leaving an adequate margin in drawing a plan and doing a thing. If we don't leave a margin, we may easily fall into a passive situation. This margin is the result of a full estimate of the people's creativeness and is based on the full development of man's subjective and active role. We should in no way plan our action without considering the conditions permitted by the objective situation and commit ourselves to the things which we really are not capable of doing. But, we must resolutely do the things which we can achieve through strenuous efforts. In the course of doing these things, we do not exert our efforts excessively. This way of leaving a margin is active and progressive and is required in the sustained development of man's revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness. But, those people who advocate having "more people" and are bent on leaving a "margin" in the use of manpower, do not think so. When they mention manpower, they link it with a nail or a rivet and forbid any reduction. They do not see the tremendous socialist enthusiasm among the masses. They always try to get more men, so that their work will be easier. This is an idea of a coward and a lazy bone and is an expression of the lack of the spirit of sustained revolution.

Tapping the potentials of labor and economizing labor is a deep-going ideological revolution. We must approach it by heightening it to the high plane of the implementation of the general line in socialist construction and the high plane of consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by bringing the proletarian politics to the fore, putting the relationship between man and things in a right position and trusting that the masses of the people have endless creative power, will it be possible to adopt a correct attitude toward the unearthing of potentials of labor and the economy of labor, to do our work perseveringly and permanently and to continuously make new achievements.

At present, many factories and mining enterprises are conducting comprehensive utilization and multiple undertakings on a big scale. With regard to the labor needed, they should, if they can, solve the problems by conducting mass campaigns and technical innovations on a big scale; if they are not capable of doing so, they must display the communist style and constitute socialist coordination. We oppose waste of manpower and do not generally oppose the increase of manpower. The few units which really need additional manpower should be given proper help in accordance with the spirit of economy and after obtaining approval by the higher authorities. Various factories and mining enterprises must resolutely fight against the phenomena of anarchy and indiscipline of labor. They must perseveringly make revolution during spare time. They must get rid of the phenomenon of hoarding of labor and increase the rate of utilization of the work hours.

Let us take advantage of the prevailing strong East wind of the great proletarian cultural revolution, display the proletarian spirit of sustained revolution, rely on the people who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought, rack our brains and think of methods to push the movement of increasing production and practicing economy toward a higher level.

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"Three-in-One" Technical Reform Group Is Good

- a report of investigation on the Hankuang Machine Works of Hantan Municipality, Hopei Province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 7, July 2, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

Here we introduce to our readers an investigation report which reflects a new thing emanating from the current, rapidly developing, revolutionary mass movement on the industrial front.

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In the wake of the new upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction, how to train a proletarian technical rank and file in the quickest possible way for the industrial and mining enterprises is a question of great importance, and also a significant task in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and accelerating the socialist construction.

The Hankuang Machine Works, following the brilliant path marked by the "Anshan Steel Mill Charter" personally drawn up by our great leader Chairman Mao, has set up a "three-in-one" technical reform group with workers as the mainstay and obtained excellent results. This kind of "three-in-one" group is conducive to training proletarian technical ranks in the revolutionary practice of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment and to the penetrating and long-term development of the technical reform movement.

On the foundation of a great victory obtained in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Hankuang Machine Works has launched in a big way a technical innovation movement and universally set up "three-in-one" technical reform groups with workers as the mainstay, the revolutionary cadres as the backbone and the revolutionary technical personnel participating. There are now no less than 63 such groups in the whole plant, absorbing 32 percent of the plant's workers, 50 percent of its cadres and 67 percent of its technical personnel. On the average, the workers account for 66 percent in such groups. The establishing and expanding of the groups has further prodded on the plant's technical reform movement. Over the past two years and more, a total of more than 600 items of technical reform has been brought into practice. Of this, the more significant ones account for 113 items, of which 17 reach the nation's advanced level and five are new-type products designed by the plant itself and successfully trial-manufactured.

With the deepening of the technical reform movement, the plant has steadily maintained a rapid development of its production, and a very favorable situation is prevailing. The plant's output has quintupled in 1968, compared with 1966. In 1969, the plant completed the state production plan 65 days ahead of schedule, with its output doubled. The

output for January-May this year increased 107 percent compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, fulfilling 90 percent of the year's production plans.

The "Three-in-One" Technical Reform Group Is a Class for Study and Application of Mao Tsetung Thought

The "three-in-one" technical reform groups of the Hankuang Machine Works put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything. Over the past more than two years, the groups held extensively all kinds of Mao Tsetung thought study classes persisted in the flexible study and flexible application of the "three constantly read articles," conscientiously remolded the world outlook, and steadily used flexible study and application of the articles "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" to guide the technical reform movement. Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking has exerted its peerless prowess, and a high tide has now been whipped up for the study and application of philosophy in many of the groups. Full implementation of Chairman Mao's latest directives has been a "must," so the technical reform movement may be closely geared with political tasks. The revolutionary mass criticism has become a regular practice, and in-depth criticism has been conducted of such theories as "experts to run factories", "techniques comes first", "crawl-ism", "foreign-slave philosophy", in order to thoroughly wipe out "Liu's poisons". With deep understanding, everybody says, "The 'three-in-one' group is our class for flexible study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and when one masters his thought one has a definite orientation to follow, which is a guarantee for training a new rank and file.

A "three-in-one" group in the tools workshop, in experimenting to produce a special kind of precision measuring rule by using the ordinary sand polishing wheel, failed to see any result after a week's experiment. With this question in mind, the group's members repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's "On Contradiction", particularly the great teaching concerning "the two contradictory sides, each following a given condition, move in an opposite direction." They decided to change the "given condition" between the thing to be made and the sand polishing wheel, thus accelerating the speed of the object and reducing the speed of the wheel. In this way, the specially-designed sand polishing wheel exerted its role, raising the polishing capacity. Finally, the "given condition" was changed to a proper ratio, and the task was successfully accomplished.

Another "three-in-one" group tried to process a complex industrial spare part, which required the execution of more than one thousand different measurements. A skilled technical worker, by the use of special precision equipment, took four months to finish one such spare part, falling far short of the quality and quantity required. In order to overcome this "big old difficulty", members of the group repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's works, made use of his brilliant philosophical thinking of "dividing one into two," seriously analyzed the principal contradictions of such spare part, and discovered the path of innovation. After experimenting for more than 200 times, they finally created a brand new method for making the industrial article. Now, it takes only five to six minutes for an ordinary skilled worker to process such a spare part, raising the production rate more than 7,000 times, and reducing the production cost to 1/5000th.

Another "three-in-one" group, in making an important technical innovation, conducted more than two thousand experiments successively without success. A feeling of fearing difficulty arose among the technical personnel. Versus this living state of mentality, the veteran workers organized all for study of Chairman Mao's works, trying to find out ways from "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" and to find strength from the "three constantly read articles". With Chang Ssu-te, Bethune and the foolish old man as examples, they tried to find the gap, devise measures, demonstrate the revolutionary spirit of "fearing no hardship, nor death", and after conducting experiments for more than one thousand times, they finally succeeded. Overwhelmed with joy, the workers said, "When we have Chairman Mao in our hearts, we could overcome any difficulty, no matter how great it is."

Bringing Workers' Role into Full Play in the "Three-in-One" Technical Reform Group

Hankuang Machine Works also formed "three-in-one" technical reform groups before the great proletarian cultural revolution. But, as a result of the interruption by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, technical power was not vested in the hands of the working class. The bourgeois technical authorities who manipulated technical leadership of the machine works "strangled the workers" and exercised dictatorship over the workers. They disparaged the workers as being "rustic" and "clumsy" and capable of only "working with the drill" and "brandishing the hammer." They said nonsensically that if the workers conducted technical innovation, "production would be delayed and the gains would not be sufficient to remedy the loss." They disallowed the workers to read the technical data and even forbade them to touch the technical books in the library. They hindered integration of technicians with the workers and did not permit the revolutionary technicians to go to the workshop to participate in manual labor. In the face of this state of affairs, the workers felt greatly indignant and waged a tit-for-tat struggle. However, because they did not hold the seal, the "three-in-one" group existed only superficially. After the establishment of the revolutionary committee of Hankuang Machine Works, the broad masses of workers of this machine works, with the help of the support-the-Left personnel of the Liberation Army stationed in this machine works, really grasped the technical leadership. A new upsurge occurred in the technical reform movement. The "three-in-one" group with workers as the main force was more active than ever and played a tremendous role in the technical reform movement.

Of the 63 "three-in-one" groups of this machine works, 54 are led by workers, almost all of them being old workers. The old workers are the most loyal to Chairman Mao and love and support the Party most warmly. They set examples and take the lead in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way. They also are the richest in practical experience. If the old workers are charged to lead these groups, it will be possible to insure smooth development of technical reform.

In handling this question, the leadership of this machine works has gone through a course of understanding. Take, for example, the "three-in-one"

group of the new products trial-manufacturing workshop. It was first headed by an office cadre. In conducting technical innovation, he did not rely on the workers while some technicians laid undue emphasis on things big and foreign in drawing the design, successively putting forward two very impractical design plans, which had been dealt with for almost one year and proved to be fruitless. After a struggle waged by the workers, this group was headed by an old worker. He led the young workers who worked as shock troops, and with the help of the PLA's support-the-Left personnel stationed in this machine works and the revolutionary committee of the works, fully relied on and roused the broad masses of workers, to work independently and to adopt the indigenous and foreign methods simultaneously. Subsequently, a new design plan was drawn and the new products very soon were trial-manufactured successfully.

In the course of making the steam-cooling equipment, Li Tseng-hua, an old worker of another "three-in-one" group, picked heavy jobs to do, despite his illness. He crept into the suffocating and hot cylinder to do welding for a span of three to four hours. When the cylinder was found to be slanting in the trial installation of the cooling machine, he pushed away the young workers and risked his life to clear the obstacles. The technicians, young workers and sent-down cadres of this group followed his example, and displayed the "pauper" spirit. Eventually they created a line of indigenous-type cooling machine production, manufactured a set of equipment up to the advanced level at home, and scored distinguished results in technical reform. This group became a red banner bearer of this machine works.

Practice in the past two years and more in Hankuang Machine Works shows that the "three-in-one" technical reform group has great superiority in bringing the leading role of the working class into full play: First, it carries out the Party's class line, has a clear and correct political orientation, and is a reliable guarantee for implementing the "Anshan Steel Mill Charter". Second, it helps the workers "re-educate" the technicians during the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and, at the same time, continuously enhance their own political consciousness. This creates conditions for training and developing the technical force of the proletariat. Third, it enriches the experience in managing socialist industrial enterprises, embodies Chairman Mao's brilliant idea of whole-heartedly relying on the working class, fully displays the workers' enthusiasm and creativeness in socialism, exploits all active factors to develop triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

An Effective Place for the "Re-Education" of Technical Personnel

The great leader Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: "The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line and thoroughly change their old ideology." The "three-in-one" technical reform group of the Hankuang Machine Works has conscientiously and consistently adhered to this great instruction and has reaped conspicuous results.

In the past, poisoned by the bourgeois and revisionist educational line, quite a number of technicians of this plant failed to solve in the real sense the question of who should be served, and there was deep in their minds a bourgeois "kingdom" for fame and gain. Some people learned some knowledge from books in school and thought much of themselves. But after they came to the plant, they were unable to apply such knowledge. The things they talked about were "void of content" and they just "stared at" their work. Some people were even unable to distinguish steel from pig iron.

After they joined the "three-in-one" group with the workers as the mainstay, the majority of the technicians changed their way of thinking, stand and work style, and their technical level was also incessantly raised. In the past two years, 24 of them were appraised as activists in making living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, 17 were elected revolutionary committee members of the plant or the workshops, and many formed the backbone of the "three-in-one" technical reform group. During the Party-consolidation, Party-building period, 16 technicians gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party. There was a technician who possessed the bourgeois thought of fame and gain in the past and sought to "achieve something" in vocational skill. After he joined the "three-in-one" group, principally due to "re-education" by the old workers, the impetus provided by the young workers and the warm assistance of the revolutionary cadres, he made fast progress in way of thinking and unambiguously orientated himself toward promoting technical reforms for the revolution. In less than two years, he brought about by himself and in conjunction with the collective 24 important technical innovations--two of which were up to the advanced level at home--and won the warm praises of the broad masses of workers.

This plant has come to understand in practice that the most important advantages in relying on the "three-in-one" group with the workers as the mainstay to "re-educate" the broad masses of technicians are:

(1) The advantage of carrying out class education and careful ideological and political work among the technicians. Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "Not knowing what is class and what is exploition means not knowing the revolution." The "three-in-one" group organizes the old workers and the technicians together. The old workers not only are able to study and apply creatively Chairman Mao's works together with the technicians and give them education in class and class struggle, but also can pass on their knowledge by words and deeds, and by way of recalling past bitterness and conversation, permeate everyday work and life with "re-education" and lead them gradually to establish firmly the proletarian world outlook of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

(2) The advantage of bringing into full play the positive role of the technicians in technical reforms. In the course of carrying out technical reforms for example, when the technicians had ideas but dared not carry them out, the workers encouraged them to go into action with courage. When they were confronted by problems and felt discouraged, the workers helped them with ideas. When the technicians became arrogant because of their achievements, the workers criticized and helped them. Many people felt sure of themselves when they carried out reforms together with the master workmen.

(3) The advantage of realizing the transformation of the intellectuals into laborers. By joining the "three-in-one" group and by working together, studying together and carrying out technical reforms and scientific research practice together with the workers, the technicians can revolutionize themselves ideologically as well as raise their technical accomplishments. The broad masses of technicians remarked understandingly: "The 'selfish' mind is cleansed by sweat and the root of 'revisionism' is eradicated by labor. Taking part in 'three-in-one' is better than ten years of schooling."

A Good Way to Foster the Technical Ranks of the Workers

Our great leader Chairman Mao taught: "The working class must transform the whole society and at the same time transform themselves in the class struggle and the struggle against Nature." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") In the technical reform movement, the working masses of the "three-in-one" group of the Hankuang Machine Works used the invincible Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon. On the one hand, they helped the technicians take the road of forming one with the working masses and passed on their practical experience. On the other hand, they continued to accumulate production and technical experience in their own practice and learned humbly from the revolutionary technicians. The basic method they adopted was that every time before a technical reform was carried out, they armed their minds with Chairman Mao's teaching of "learning warfare through warfare," freed their minds of restrictive ideas, emancipated themselves ideologically, dared to struggle and to win, and established the ambitious determination of the Chinese working class in scaling the pinnacles of technology. In the course of carrying out the reform, when they encountered difficulties, they overcame them with the method of analyzing and solving contradictions. When the reform was successful, they used the viewpoint of "one divides into two" to sum up experience and look for differences so as to facilitate fighting another battle.

At present, among the workers of the "three-in-one" group, 75 have attained the level of a technician in designing and drawing.

Helped by the leading cadres and the PLA personnel stationed in the plant to support the Left, two old workers of the minor parts processing workshop led a "three-in-one" group to take unswervingly the road of "independence and self-reliance" as pointed out by Chairman Mao. Beginning with investigation and research, they analyzed with materialistic dialectics a clumsy and backward product manufactured by a foreign country and mobilized the whole group to transform energetically this "foreign antique." Within a short period of time, they broke through a key technical problem which even the bourgeois technical authorities were unable to solve, and together with the masses, they brought about the technical reform of more than 40 bigger projects. Everybody warmly called these two old master workmen "our worker-technicians."

Led by the revolutionary committee of the plant and helped by the "three-in-one" group, a section of young workers in the "three-in-one" group established the idea of carrying out technical reforms for the

revolution. Full of vitality and vigor, they dared to think, speak out and do things, thus becoming "little tigers" on the technical reform front and the reliable successors to the technical ranks of the proletariat. At present 138 young workers in the whole plant have joined the "three-in-one" technical reform group, and a section of them has become the backbone with six assuming leadership work in the "three-in-one" group.

In the process of compressing plastic plates, a young worker encountered the problem of "air bubble." With this problem in mind, he studied again and again Chairman Mao's great teaching that "when we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold." ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire"). He ignored his meals and sleep, studied and analyzed the causes of air bubbles in plastic plates together with other comrades, repeatedly experimented with methods to get rid of the air bubbles, and innovated the advanced technology of "exhaust initial compression." A kind of transparent, flawless and steel-like plastic plate was finally successfully compressed.

At present, a proletarian technical force with the workers as the mainstay--a force that is capable of performing mental and manual work and is both red and vocationally proficient"--is growing strong and to maturity in the Hankuang Machine Works.

Holding high the banner of unity and victory of the "9th Congress", the broad masses of workers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians are advancing courageously with revolutionary heroism along the brilliant road charted by Chairman Mao.

Joint investigation conducted by:

The Hopei Provincial Revolutionary Committee

The Hantan Administrative District Revolutionary Committee

The Hantan Municipal Revolutionary Committee

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